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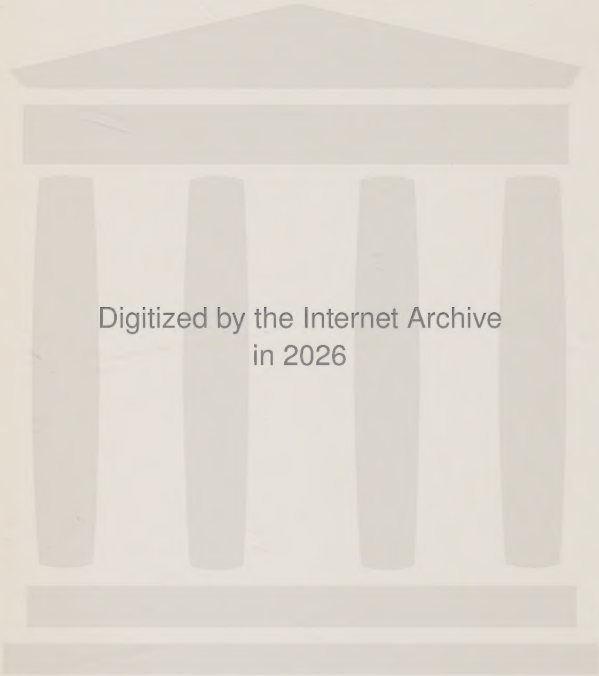
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THE CHURCH IN WALES
IN THE
LIGHT OF HISTORY

THE CHURCH IN WALES
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LIGHT OF HISTORY

A HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY

BY THE

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"THE CAMBRO-AMERICAN PULPIT," "WELSH RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN THE VICTORIAN ERA," "WELSH POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL LEADERS IN THE VICTORIAN ERA," "THEOLOGY AT THE DAWN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY"

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IN RECOGNITION OF THE NOBILITY OF HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER, HIS UNFALTERING FAITH IN THE POWER OF HIGH IDEALS, AND HIS CONSTANT DEVOTION TO THE WELFARE OF THE CHURCH

FOREWORD

I CORDIALLY commend Dr. Vyrnwy Morgan's able and timely treatise on the Church in Wales to the attention of all who are interested in its welfare. The book shows wide reading and a broad outlook, energy and independence of thought, honesty of purpose, intimate knowledge of the Welsh people, and a sincere desire for the welfare of Wales. It is a book calculated to provoke thought, and, without endorsing the author's views on many points, I hope it may have the large circulation which it deserves. The study of it cannot but be of valuable help at a difficult time of great opportunity when the Church as well as the Country has to face complex problems of reconstruction.

J. ST. DAVID'S.

THE PALACE, ABERGWILI,
29*th April*, 1918.

PREFACE

The reader is referred to the Introduction for an indication of the scope and purpose of this book, and for the aim which has guided my studies. I can only hope that the subject is treated in a dispassionate way, and that whatever the defects of the book, it cannot be justly said that an effort has been made to distort facts to suit sectarian ends or preconceived ideas.

As to my intellectual obligations, it would be impossible to mention them all, either in reference to this particular work or to my previous works. In process of time a student finds that he has gained much knowledge and information, the sources of which he cannot definitely trace. There is, however, one obligation which I desire to acknowledge; that is, to my wife, who has rendered me invaluable aid in the production of this work, and to my son Captain Guthrie Morgan, M.C., for assisting in the preparation of the Index. For help of various kinds I am indebted to Mr. John Henry Thomas, and for reading and correcting proofs to the Rev. G. C. Rowe, B.A., Principal of St. Andrew's School, Tenby.

J. V. M.

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INTRODUCTION

It may be well, in order to avoid misapprehension, to say a word on the scope and purpose of this work. It is not to be regarded as a History of the Church in Wales; that would be a task of another kind which the writer has not attempted to discharge. The purpose of the book is to bring out the points of correspondence and links of connection between the activities of the Church and the Renaissance movement in Wales. How far the author has succeeded, or whether he has succeeded at all, the reader will judge for himself. An attempt of this kind is practicable. But if there is a Welsh Churchman who thinks that the work might have been better done, or that a different plan might have been adopted, the author's answer is that the market is open, and that the opportunity still exists for any writer who cares to undertake such a task.

The accepted verdict is that the Church has, in more ways than one, hindered rather than helped the Renaissance movement in Wales. Indeed, this is a point which has been strongly and repeatedly urged, especially of late years, by the critics and foes of the Church. The author's view is that by no fair interpretation of facts can this verdict, which has been accepted by so many without adequate reflection, be sustained.

It would be true to say that the Church in Wales for the last generation has taken less part as a Church in Welsh national movements than it might or should have done. There are causes which could be specified in extenuation of the Church's share of responsibility in this matter, to some of which reference is made in Chapter III.

This, however, is not to say that the Church in Wales has done nothing to encourage the spread of the sentiment of nationality among the Welsh, or that it has played no part in influencing national life, or that no national feeling has existed among the clergy in Wales. Taking them as a class, they

stand to-day as they have always stood, for such patriotism as demands the highest appreciation. It would be impossible to truly estimate the forces that have operated in the building-up of the national character, and in the formation and cultivation of Welsh national feeling, without taking into account the work and influence of the clergy and the Church.

By national character is meant the mentality of the nation, its ideals, and spiritual culture. The national character is the sum of the individual character; the national ideal the sum of the individual ideal; the national mental outlook the sum of the individual mental outlook. What are the instruments by means of which national character is formed, and by means of which national feeling, or what is called patriotism, is fostered? Religion is one of them, and by religion we do not mean any particular form of faith; education is another; and, in Wales, the Eisteddfod; also the pulpit and native literature. It would not be too much to say that the last two have been among the chief constitutive forces that have made for the progress of the Welsh people, for the purification of their morals and the elevation of their ideals.

What is the function of literature? What are the interests that literature should awaken and sustain? Its function is to elevate the public taste; to inform the mind of the people; to sanctify and elevate the past; to bring to our notice instances of noble self-denial; to act as an interpreter between two opposing influences—the material and the intellectual or the spiritual; to maintain lofty moral ideals in material civilization; to cultivate independence of thought; to keep alive an interest in the main currents of life. Regarded in this light, this work shows that the contribution of the Church to the formation of the Welsh national character and Welsh patriotism has been very considerable, especially in the sphere of education and in the pulpit life of Wales; and, through the translation of the Bible into Welsh, to the language and literature of Wales.

The first book printed in the Welsh language (1546) was a book which contained the Welsh alphabet, the Calendar, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments, and other matters. It would be true to say that

the Church was the means of preserving the Welsh language both before and after the Reformation. Some of the most ardent and distinguished patrons of the Eisteddfod have been Churchmen. It was Thomas Beynon, Archdeacon of Carmarthen, a most patriotic Welshman, who arranged the Carmarthen Eisteddfod in 1819. It was through the efforts of Welsh Churchmen that the society of Ancient Britons was established in 1715; the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion in 1751; the Cambrian Archæological Association in 1845.

Partly because the Church has stood aloof from narrow nationalism, and has in various ways counteracted its influence, it has been charged by a certain class of Welshmen with being anti-national in spirit and ideal. The difference between the nationalism taught and fostered by the Church, and the popular nationalism taught and fostered by a certain class of Welshmen is, that whereas the nationalism of the Church rises above the racial level, the tendency of popular nationalism is towards Celtic centralization and Celtic absolutism, even in the realm of education. They differ in their conception as to the meaning of nationality and as to what the national character ought to be.

How should we judge the character of a nation? Not merely by its religious moods, but also by its morals and ethical standards; by the nature of the influence which it exercises; by the vigour and durability of its literature; by its political civilization; by its aspirations and the manner in which it seeks to bring the policy of the day into accord with those aspirations, or with the national ideals; by its adaptive and assimilative qualities. The power to absorb cultural elements from without, and to harmonize different and conflicting elements from within, is a necessary condition of a highly civilized life. When a nation is weak and conscious of its weakness it ostracizes the stranger, and rejects foreign cultural elements instead of assimilating them; when it is strong and conscious of its strength, it welcomes and assimilates what is good in them.

Christianity aims at blending different races. The Christian idea of freedom makes room for the different races within the community or the State; it has its roots in the conditions and

affections of the people as a whole; it does not encourage the dominance of one class over another. The exclusion of a part of the community from a share in the rights and political administration of the country by reason of race, is as unjust and injurious to the highest interest of the country as the exclusion of a part of a community by reason of its faith.

But the tendency of popular Welsh Nationalism is to isolate those who do not come within the category of Welshmen, or who do not subscribe to the policy which is founded on a racial basis. It fences itself with all sorts of artificial creations; it forms partitions and inner racial groups of interests; it sets bounds to the operation of non-Celtic influences, with the result that it contracts rather than expands the mentality and usefulness of the community. Public opinion cannot maintain its liberty and purity in such small dimensions. In truth, nationalism, more especially this type of nationalism, is inconsistent with Christianity.

The Church has not fostered and cannot consistently foster and promulgate a nationalism that is founded on and moves along purely racial lines, for the reason that it is a Catholic Church and part of the Church Universal. There is no antagonism between true Catholicity and true Nationality, but there is between true Catholicity and such spurious nationality. While true Catholicity tends to strengthen the characteristics of each nation, it seeks to unify the different elements within the community, and its mission is to the people as a whole. This is what the Church has to realize; that is, the breadth of its responsibility; the more truly Catholic the Church becomes, the more patriotic it will become in the truest and highest sense of the word. If all who are not Welsh by birth, or who do not speak the language, were taken out of Wales, there would not be very many left; and if all the interests, both material and spiritual, which are represented by men of other nationalities, were withdrawn from the Principality, it would be a very poor country.

As to the prevailing War mentality of Wales, much of the credit is due to the influence exerted by the Church, not only at the outbreak of the war and since, but during preceding generations. Historically speaking, what Imperialism has

existed in Wales has been due in a large measure to the atmosphere created by the Church; an atmosphere of loyalty to the Crown, to the ancient institutions of the country, and to Imperial interests.

Not only has the Church been a great factor in the Imperial problem in so far as the Principality is concerned, but it has been the bed-rock of Imperial unity. The movement of the Church towards its objective is consistent with perfect loyalty to the Throne and the Empire. Loyalty in Nonconformity has been in the past a more variable and undeterminable quality. It does not appear to have given much attention to the subject; its loyalty has never been of an effusive character. The idea of a citizenship that is British in character seems to be alien to the genius of Welsh Nonconformity; its disposition has been to make Wales as distinguishable as possible from England, and to evolve a type of citizenship that is exclusively Welsh in sympathies. Nevertheless, its loyalty in this war has been, generally speaking, unquestionable.

The statement has been made and often repeated, that 75 or 80 per cent. of the soldiers from Wales are Churchmen; it has created a good deal of ill-feeling. We have made direct requests to those who are responsible for this statement for their authority, but we have not been privileged with the courtesy of an answer. The War Office has no such concrete information in its possession; if it had it would not disclose it. Statements, however erroneous, often repeated, will in the end be accepted by those who are not in a position to test them, or whose disposition is to believe them. Our knowledge of Wales and of all the facts of the case, constrains us to say here that it is not in the interest of truth, to say nothing of unity, that such a statement should be repeated.

It only remains to point out briefly the plan followed in the succeeding chapters. In the first I have thought it well to begin with an examination of the Disestablishment movement in the light of its concomitant factors, and of the historical causes that have helped to bring about the present crisis. Some of these causes were avoidable, others were beyond the control of the Church. Clearly, Nonconformity has not been the sole factor in the movement; the existence

and operation of other elements is indisputable, and the important thing is to relate them rightly to each other, for the interaction of diverse forces within a social order goes to form fixed dispositions and convictions and tendencies which have a collective significance and power, and perpetuate themselves.

The second chapter contains a discussion of some of the main characteristics of the Renaissance movement in Wales, and the Tudor period is taken as the starting-point. I have endeavoured to show the bearing of the Reformation and the Anglo-Welsh Union upon the course of this Renaissance movement. The Reformation took place at a fortunate time in so far as Wales was concerned; the Tudors looked with favour upon the Principality, for they had Welsh blood in their veins. But the notion that Henry VIII. was the author of the Reformation in England, is as absurd as the notion that the Church of England is the Church of Henry VIII., or that it is a Church created and formed by "An Act of Parliament." The Reformation was the result of many and various causes which had penetrated far and deep into the history of the Church and the national life, and there was a disposition to receive it in Wales.

As to the Anglo-Welsh Union, it was, politically, the greatest blessing that has ever been conferred upon Wales. Indeed, the subjection of Wales to England has been a condition of its political advancement, partly because it has been a subjection to a nation with a higher capacity for government. The Anglo-Welsh Union may be said to be one of the factors that determined the political civilization of Wales, in virtue of which she has at last taken her rightful place as one of the component parts of the United Kingdom. Wales has obtained her political education partly in virtue of the Act of Union and her dependence upon England. It must be a source of pride to every Welshman and to every lover of Wales, to find so many indications of a progressive enlightenment in the various departments of knowledge and industry, especially in the realm of education, though there is no sign of the recognition of the science of psychology which is so closely connected with the problem of education. It

would be a pity if the educational movement should be allowed to drift under the control of a spurious nationalism, which is inspired by considerations purely racial and political.

The following five chapters are devoted to a consideration of the contribution of the Church to the Renaissance movement on its educational and literary side, and the contribution of the Church to pulpit oratory. A study of the work done by the Church in centuries past in the sphere of elementary education, in a catholic and sympathetic spirit, will compel recognition of the fact that the Church as a Church has placed Wales under a debt of gratitude to it. In this treatment the Welshmen of to-day will, it is to be hoped, find some glimpses of the value of the work done in preceding generations.

While there is too much truth in what some regard as a reproach, that the Church has raised the Altar at the expense of the pulpit, and that it has neglected the gift of preaching, yet, as will be seen by a study of the treatment on this aspect of the Church's life, it has produced some remarkable preachers, who, by their preaching and the inspiration of their personality caused not only the Church but the nation to take an onward step. Greater scholars there might have been, and greater theologians; but in spiritual earnestness, in passion for the regeneration of the people, and in what constitutes true eloquence, the men we have named were comparable with any. There are others who deserve recognition, but my purpose has been to give a few typical examples, and space would not permit the inclusion of all.

A special chapter is devoted to the Church and the Industrial unrest in Wales. The gravity of the question is generally acknowledged. It is obvious that organized religion has lost its practical influence upon the mining community. We see something more sinister than the consequences of the democratic evolution. We see such a disorder of minds and things that very little is done as reason and morality would dictate. The Syndicalist movement bears a triple significance—indiscipline, irresponsibility, and anarchy. Even the Government itself seems to have been left with only nominal power. Socialists and Syndicalists, although directed

by entirely different conceptions, are collaborating in the same eventual aim, namely, the pillage of wealth, the violent suppression of the ruling classes, the elimination of the competitive and individualistic element in industry. Syndicalism has no care for the democratic principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity; the absolute discipline and obedience which it enjoins eliminates liberty.

The spectacle of the various governments defending themselves by yielding to every demand made by the miners is a distressing one; while it serves for the moment it seriously and heavily compromises the future. No feudal baron ever exerted a comparable tyranny. To foresee the final issue of this conflict which threatens the destruction of the industry, and the dominion of the community by the despotism of Socialism and Syndicalism, is impossible. There are some who console themselves with the thought that necessity will finally bring things to an equilibrium.

The last chapter deals with the adjustment of the Church to the future of Wales; that is, to the material, intellectual, theological, ethical, social, and linguistic conditions of the future. The Church is great in power and large in relationships, it is elastic and comprehensive. It has, therefore, the capacity to minister to diversity of condition and to variety of need. Its future in Wales depends upon the character of its adjustment. The Church has been conservative; it has been too disposed to hold itself aloof from life. True, it has of late years become more in touch with life. The Church may or may not approve of many movements to improve society, but it must know these movements and understand them. If the Church is to become aggressive, if it is to become a leader, if it is to become a great sociological as well as a great spiritual force, it must devoutly and seriously consider the most important question of adjusting itself to duty and to doctrine, to the new environment and to the conditions of modern society.

J. VYRNWY MORGAN.

Glanymor, Tenby,
May, 1918.

THE CHURCH IN WALES

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH, PAST AND PRESENT

We are participators in, or spectators of, two dramas in the history of modern Wales; the drama of the great world war, and of the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales. Many years must elapse before the full effect of the former can be measured, and the Church as yet stands only on the edge of the consequences of the latter. It should not be unprofitable now to ask what it is that Churchmen and Nonconformists have learned, for it is after, rather than before, or during the progress of national movements and revolutions, that we are in a position to compute the gains and losses.

Is it to be said of Disestablishment, that it means nothing more than a triumph of opinion, or of principle, on the one hand, and a defeat on the other? To the question: "But what good came of it at last?" the old man in Southey's poem on the battle of Blenheim, was content to answer—

> "Why, that I cannot tell (said he),
> But 't was a famous victory."

Churchmen would say that Disestablishment means the abrogation of the testamentary power or of the official position of religion in the principality of Wales; that the action that produced it was not wisely or justly applied; that the political passion that impelled the action is not conducive to the well-being of the State, nor to the spiritual interests of the people. It cannot be denied that Churchmen have always looked upon Disestablishment as a proposal which concerned the welfare of the people at large, or of the country, rather than the welfare of the Church. "The principle upon which we

opposed Disestablishment," says the Bishop of St. David's, "was that it was both right and wise for the country for its own sake to continue to recognize the national mission of its historic Church, subject to such equitable readjustment of the relations between Church and State as would be statesmanlike, in view of the unhappy religious divisions in modern times, and of the precious service rendered to national welfare by other Christian communions."

But while the Bishop and Churchmen as a body hold that there is no inherent incompatibility between the principle of the national recognition of religion and the principle of religious equality, any more than there is between it and the principle of religious liberty, Nonconformists, on the other hand, maintain that the principle of a national recognition of religion is a violation of the principle of religious equality. Disestablishment, they claim, is the unfolding of the principle of civil and religious equality; it is a renunciation of the traditional assumption that one type of religion, or form of religion, is necessarily the only true type, because it is recognized by the State. It is not the function of the State, they argue, to patronize religion in any of its forms. The State is founded upon civil law; it is not, therefore, identical with the Church, which is founded upon spiritual law.

By virtue of the same reasoning and the same mental habit, they justify their attitude towards Church endowments. The two objects are distinct from each other; but the two ideas, they say, go together, and cannot be separated. The advocates of the extreme course have always predicted, that one of the results of their policy would be that Church and Chapel will hereafter live peaceably side by side; and that, in virtue of a closer relation accruing from the establishment of the principle of religious equality in the Principality, and the removal of the sense of grievance through the transference of the endowments to the nation for secular purposes, a more contented and united Wales will be able to sustain a more successful struggle with the forces of evil; that the Welsh people will, in consequence, increase their spiritual power, and advance many grades in the realm of freedom and civilization; and by civilization they mean morality and justice.

This, we are afraid, is an illusion. The ideal was far off before the Act was passed, but it is now more unapproachable than ever. The verdict of history is that it takes a long time for the conquered and the conqueror to live together in amity; it takes a longer time for the despoiled to live in amity with the despoiler. "I wish," said a prominent citizen of the Southern States of America not many years ago, "that every child born in the South for the next generation, would prove to be a boy, that we might fight the North over again." France is still smarting under the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, and restoration, we have been told, is to be made a condition of Peace. Even in Wales at this late hour we hear faint echoes of the ancient cry of Saxon usurpation; there is nothing that some Welshmen resent more than to be told that the English conquered them.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, what Mr. Asquith, who placed this Welsh measure on the Statute Book, said at Leeds in September, 1917: "There are no signs that the men who rule Germany have learnt the lesson that unjust and grasping terms dictated to the vanquished cannot be the foundation of peace and good will to which they have of late paid an ambiguous lip service."

These observations might with equal force be applied to himself, and to those who acted with him in deciding the question of Church endowments. Too many bitter things that have been said, and too many hostile things done, for oblivion to follow so soon, or for the attainment of that unity to which "ambiguous lip service" has been paid. The gulf which has been widened by Disestablishment will be widened still more by Disendowment; too wide, we think, to be bridged by a mere form of words, or by an exchange of compliments. That political Wales endorses and stands by these twofold results, does not take away the sense of their injustice in the minds of Churchmen. It appears to them that Welsh politicians have knowingly and deliberately taken not only the lesser good in preference to the greater, but the greater evil in preference to the smaller; so that it is impossible to identify their action with virtue.

While not a few Welsh Churchmen do, for reasons of

expediency, even necessity, approve of Disestablishment, all Churchmen hold that Disendowment violates every maxim of morality, and every monition of conscience. It has, they claim, been fastened upon the nation by political force; it is an enfeebling policy based on a false standard which does not conform to a true definition of justice, or to the sense of justice, which prevails among a large number of the more moderate Nonconformists, who complain that those who manipulate the political machinery have made their voluntary resistance of no effect.

Justice is here meant in its moral sense, which, like other moral virtues, must be judged in the light of intention and action. Justice has to do with one's conduct in the widest sense; it prescribes what one ought to do or refrain from doing; it is a distinctly altruistic virtue. It denotes the habit of mind which moves a man to do the fair thing by his neighbours. It chooses the lesser of two evils which is relatively good. Justice takes the middle course, injustice takes the extreme. Fairness in dealing with others is more difficult than fairness in dealing with one's self, or with one's own interests. The function of justice is to cause the fair thing to be done with regard to others; the good of others is a constituent of justice.

Nonconformist politicians would resent being told that they are unjust, or that they are acting unjustly by seeking to deprive the Church of its endowments. The trend of their political thought seems to show that they consider the suffering of an injustice to be a greater evil than the infliction of it. They have brooded so long over their grievance that no one seems to be able to persuade them to avoid extremes, where the balance of error always lies. The political Nonconformist reminds one of the official called "dialwr," that is, avenger, in the social system of ancient Wales, whose duty was to bring offenders to justice, and to lead in a blood feud. Can it be that he was the forerunner of the Welsh Free Church Council? Indeed, political Nonconformity appears to be less liable to give away what belongs to it than to take away what belongs to others; its characteristic liberality in sentiment is not conjoined with liberality in practice.

Individually considered, there are in the ranks of Nonconformity men whose moral nature seems to have been cultivated on the side of justice and generosity. But justice under its political aspect does not, as a rule, show itself in the same manner as under its personal, or individual aspect. When acting, politically, in combination men are more apt to allow their passions to overcome their sense of fairness, than when acting alone. The characteristics of men in the mass are not the characteristics of men individually, or, at least, their manifestations are not the same. Here we come to what is termed *variational psychology*, the psychology of racial, or group peculiarities, as distinguished from purely individualistic psychology.

In the review of our work on "The War and Wales" which appeared in the Times Literary Supplement (a review characteristically Welsh) there appeared the following statement: "In so far as Voluntaryism is concerned, the author has overlooked the fact that the acceptance of State payment by Nonconformist Army Chaplains is bound to modify the Nonconformist attitude towards endowments, and may incline them eventually to a system of concurrent endowment." What a poor understanding this reviewer must have of Nonconformist psychology, and of the position of Welsh Nonconformity relating to this particular matter!

Neither the Nonconformist Army Chaplains themselves, nor the Churches which they represent—inconsistently, we think—consider that the receiving of State payment for ministering to the spiritual needs of the soldiers at the front affects the question of Church endowments in any way, or their normal attitude with regard to them. They say that they are not parallel, and that circumstances alter cases. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists have selected a Committee to appoint a number of their own preachers to minister to the spiritual needs of Welsh soldiers in the different camps in Wales and in England. The Committee pay these ministers, or Chaplains, two pounds per Sunday, their cost of maintenance. and all travelling expenses. In the case of those ministers who are appointed and remunerated by the Government, they pay nothing; and they

pay nothing to those who act as chaplains abroad; that they leave to the Government, as they were appointed by the Government. Other denominations have made similar provisions in the same direction.

Welsh Noncomformists were endeavouring during the years preceding the war to raise endowment funds for the benefit of those ministers whose stipends are below a specified figure. But they avow, as they have always avowed, that they would not share in the endowments of the Church, either for this or for any other denominational purpose. It has been suggested in some irresponsible quarters that part of the endowment should be applied for Sunday School purposes, for the reason that Noncomformist Sunday Schools have been rapidly declining of late years, and that Nonconformity has practically lost its hold on the adolescent population; but the suggestion has met with no response. Whatever may be the idiosyncracies or inconsistencies of Welsh Nonconformists, we do not think them capable of a course of conduct so utterly blameworthy and hypocritical.

If there is going to be an adjustment by mutual arrangement; or, if those in authority ultimately make concessions, it will be for reasons other than those to which reference has just been made; and in defiance of the more militant section of the Welsh Parliamentary representatives, as well as of the extremists among the ministerial fraternity in Wales, who are exasperated at the thought that the Church should, as they allege, have benefited through the war financially, and that the value of the tithes should have increased. This may be seen from the following resolution which was unanimously passed at a largely attended meeting of the executive of the Welsh National Free Church Council, which was held at Llandrindod Wells on Sept. 14, 1917.

"That the Executive Committee of the National Free Church Council of Wales puts upon record its unalterable adherence to all the clauses of the Welsh Church Act as placed upon the Statute Book; it further desires to express its entire satisfaction with the replies of the majority of the Welsh Members of Parliament, who have already answered, fully and satisfactorily, a definite inquiry sent to them on

behalf of the Council as to their present attitude. However, seven of the members have not, as yet, sent any reply to the inquiry, and the hon. secretary is instructed to write again to the Liberal members of Parliament who have not hitherto replied, urging them to give a definite answer."

There is ample evidence that this bellicose attitude does not represent the sentiment of the Welsh community as a whole at the present time; indeed, we are of the opinion that if a plebiscite were taken, it would be shown that the authority of the Executive of the Welsh National Free Church Council on this question is more apparent than real; for there are many who have come to look upon the question of endowments in the light of the higher feelings and the better reason, and they now see what it means. Should those who may happen to be in power at the end of the war decide to allow the Church to retain the whole, or a larger share, of the endowments, they would be on safe ground, and they would have nothing to fear.

It now remains for us to examine this movement in the light of its antecedent causes and concomitant factors. Its roots, tendencies, and characteristics are well marked. It was its fatal destiny, as it has been the fatal destiny of every revolutionary movement, to be affected by its forerunner and companions.

The French revolution had for its forerunner, famine, discontent with the old political regime, and widespread hatred of the Established Church; or rather, hatred in the first instance of those clergy who, having ceased to be trusted, lost the confidence of the French people, especially of the more enterprising section of them. For its companions it had misery, destitution, crime, horror, and bankruptcy.

The American Revolution had for its forerunners a temporary misunderstanding, due to the short-sighted obstinacy of George III., and the weakness of his minister, Lord North. The result was that thirteen colonies with a population of about three million souls were, in virtue of the peace of 1783, inscribed on the roll of independent States. The non-observance of the maxim "No taxation without representation," on the part of England, resulted not only in

separation, and in an inbred mistrust of England which lasted for over a century, but it prevented a peaceful solution of the problem of slavery, and made unavoidable the four years' war of secession, with its enormous sacrifice in blood and treasure.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century had as its forerunner, that great movement which goes by the name of Renaissance, and which owed its origin to Italy. The spirit of intellectual liberty which it fostered, led, as it was bound to lead, to a reaction against ecclesiastical authority and scholastic philosophy. What was, in its initial stages, a purely intellectual revolt, found its way into the sphere of the spiritual order. Having established the right of man to think for himself, it questioned the right of the Church, or of ecclesiasticism, to exercise authority over the soul.

The Reformation also had for its forerunner specific economic and political causes, which must be taken into consideration if we are to take its full and proper measure. Briefly stated, among these causes must be considered the development of a princely oligarchy as the Supreme Power in the German States, with unlimited authority. The title of Emperor had become a term of reproach long before the termination of the weak and miserable reign of Frederick III. Another cause was the state of mediæval anarchy, under which no citizen knew his own rights, and which was produced chiefly through the introduction of the Roman or Justinian Code of Law, during the latter half of the fifteenth century. The ecclesiastics encouraged the extension of the Code on the ground that it favoured their interests, and that the canon law had been largely derived from it. But the social and political consequences which ensued weakened rather than strengthened ecclesiasticism in Germany, and completed the ruin of Imperial authority, with the result that the Germany of that day lacked what the Germany of to-day possesses, namely, a strong central government.

In proportion as the Church was weakened through these and other changes, the power of the princes was consolidated. As to the peasantry, their lot became harder; they were in fact, reduced to the condition of slaves. So that at the close

of the fifteenth century, uprisings among them were of frequent occurrence. These uprisings were not the companions, but the precursors of the Reformation, though the Reformation was affected by the resistance of the peasants to their oppressors, and by other social causes.

With regard to the Church, as the other European nations had in a large measure freed themselves from papal spoliation, the papacy had to depend upon Germany for its revenues, which proved to be one of the main causes of the revolt against the papacy and the Church. In addition, there was the vast wealth which the Church had, in various ways, accumulated, the abuse of which, combined with the corruption in its administration, resulted in the alienation of the people.

The impression that Luther was the author of the Reformation is as groundless as the impression that he invented German hymnody. With regard to the latter, what Luther did was to make use of the music and poetry already in existence to further the Reformation. He substituted his own hymns for the secular songs, and made use of the religious hymns then in vogue.

As to the Reformation itself, what Luther did was to adopt the tenets of the Husites of Bohemia and develop them. For more than a generation they had successfully defied both Pope and Emperor. He amplified the efforts of the mystics of the Middle Ages who tried to regenerate the Church. The authorities who controlled its doctrines and institutions were unmoved by men like Thomas à Kempis and Tauler, who tried to infuse spiritual life into the Church. The fifth Lateran Ecumenical Council, which had been convened to give effect to the demand for reform, and the purification of the Church from gross religious and civil abuses, was dissolved on May 16, 1517, leaving Leo X. master of the situation. It was in November of the same year as the fifth Lateran Council was held that the storm broke out; so violent was the explosion that even Luther himself was surprised. The revolt was ripe before he issued his thesis, and it would have broken out if Luther had never been born.

This digression is not altogether irrelevant, and that for

two reasons. First, it bears on the narrow, even personal view of the Reformation which has been revived in certain ecclesiastical quarters since the beginning of the war, and for certain ends, namely, the defamation and dethronement of Luther, and the elimination of the Protestant element from the Church of England. We shall show, however, that what Luther did was to lead and direct a movement which was primarily political and economic. Secondly, it supplies us, we think, with a few points of similarity between the causes which led to the Reformation and the French Revolution, and the causes which led to the movement for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in Wales. Indeed, in looking at the movement in the light of all the facts, we are reminded of the observation which Count Pontmartin made respecting the French Revolution, that he suffered the "torments of Tantalus" when he saw in the papers and documents that came to hand subsequently, how mistakes might have been avoided and preventive measures adopted.

We are persuaded that the present crisis in the history of the Church of England in Wales would not have come to pass in a natural and orderly way. After all due allowance is made for the political perversity of Nonconformity, and the way it has been utilized by Liberal Governments, rather as a political machine than a spiritual force (in exactly the same way as Welsh Nationalist historians say the Church was utilized by the eighteenth-century Governments), we have to face the fact that the Church was wounded at the moment of its greatest opportunity by foes within its own household.

We cannot rightly explain the movement by studying it in the light of Nonconformity, or of its "surface qualities" alone, as some writers say. True, the rise of Nonconformity altered the whole social, political, and religious perspective of the Church, for with its rise and progress Welsh society took on a new form. But Nonconformity cannot properly be said to be the sole cause of Disestablishment, any more than Henry VIII. can be properly considered as the sole author of the downfall of ecclesiasticism in England, though he was the instrument by which it was ostensibly accomplished. There were other factors.

Whether the entrance of Nonconformity into the political arena was due to the conviction that it was only through political action that Disestablishment could be secured; or whether it was due to the growth and pressure of the democratic sentiment, we cannot dogmatize. Of one thing there can be no doubt, namely, that coincident with the adoption of a definite political attitude on the part of Nonconformity, we witness a decided expansion of the movement both by intention and extension.

By its surface qualities these writers mean the alleged inconsistencies, contradictions, and periodical changes of points of view which characterized the policy of the advocates of Disestablishment and Disendowment. At one time, we are told, they based their claim on the statistical argument founded on the official figures supplied by the different denominations; at another on the alien argument; at another on the historical: at another on the national, that is, the argument deduced from the character of the political representation of Wales, which is really the national argument. The explanation, we are further told, is that when they discovered the untenability of one argument they resorted to another, finally taking refuge in the national argument, which, as they think, is equally untenable and fallacious.

This criticism is more ingenious than solid. Our reading of the movement is, that there has been no suppression of one argument in favour of another, much less the abandonment of all except the final. That there have been injudicious and ill-informed advocates of Disestablishment goes without saying. That there may have been chance psychological accommodatory actions due to the conditions surrounding its expression, and a change of emphasis at different times, is natural to suppose, just as there has been a change of emphasis respecting the doctrines and truths of religion. No movement can be isolated from its environment, which often affects and varies its policy, and sometimes its main idea. So it has been in this war; at first it was, we were told, to keep faith with Belgium; then it was to help France; then it was a fight for our own existence; finally, a fight for the freedom of humanity.

The ideas and arguments by means of which popular movements are propagated are often of the most varied character; their relations to the integral principle, or to its basal contention, may be either very close or indefinitely remote. Reformers and publicists often have more than one reason for their method of procedure; the reason given may not always be the real one. It is a relatively easy matter to discover reasons, even plausible ones, for doing what our feelings or prejudices prompt us to do. It is also a relatively easy matter to discover inconsistencies and apparent contradictions in the development of great causes, and in the careers of dynamic personalities. There is something in the character of leaders of human thought that does not yield to a close or ruthless analysis. Great men are not very much concerned with inconsistencies, for inconsistencies may be, and often are, a sign of growth or mental expansion. A publicist should not be judged solely in the light of his changes of perception or of creed.

There have been reformers who, in spite of inconsistencies which even now seem inexplicable, have rendered lasting service to mankind; while of others who have wasted precious years in considering consistencies—in weighing pros and cons—in calculating the probable effect of certain actions upon their own interests, it may be said that the only lasting service they have rendered to the world is to leave a record of their own failure and ineptitude.

Whatever may be one's opinion regarding the merits of the Disestablishment controversy, we cannot understand it in the light of what has been termed "freakish inconsistencies," for it consistently followed the principle which it advocated, and sought to enforce that in which it believed and which it avowed. From first to last it was a conflict of antagonistic principles, and, by implication, of types of faith. Though the early Dissenters had left the Church, there was nothing more remote from *their* mind than to enrich their own sects by despoiling it, or to make the State unchristian. They were opposed to the establishment as they were opposed to Church rates, not because they were in connection with the Church of England as such, but because they honestly believed that

the connection between the Church and the State was indefensible on moral and civil grounds, and because they were opposed to all compulsory means in divine matters.

What did give the agitation a temporary check was the Oxford movement. Its effect on the Principality was striking; it worked its way into some of the most secluded parts of the country. This is not to imply that the Welsh of to-day are disposed to respond as they once did, and as Celts in other lands respond, to the mysteries of the Catholic faith and the Sacraments. What impressed them was the wonderful change that had come over the different dioceses; the increased reverence in worship; the increased activity shown in the repair of churches; and the greater interest taken by the clergy in works of a humanitarian character. But the friends of the Oxford movement began to interfere with education—a cause very sacred to Welshmen—with the result that there came a reaction.

What an impartial student has to ask himself is, what are the underlying causes, apart from the operation of the principle itself, that account for the spread of a movement which was not superimposed from without, but which was evolved from within and was self-regulated? The lesson of history is, that great or national movements are the resultants of many complex forces working to an end; that they are so complex, that it is not safe to dogmatize in favour of any one cause only. So with respect to Welsh Disestablishment; it has been due to so great a variety of different and subtle causes, all tending to what seemed, during its later stages, the inevitable crisis, that we cannot isolate any one of them and say: "It is due to that."

Disestablishment and Disendowment was a Puritan conception. The pioneer of the movement was William Erbury, a Cardiff man, who was born in 1604. He was a graduate of Brasenose College, Oxford, and obtained a curacy at Newport, Mon. He was shortly afterwards presented to the living at St. Mary's, Cardiff, which he resigned in 1638, apparently on account of his differences with Laud, respecting what Erbury considered his "Romish practices." He left Cardiff the same year, and became an itinerant preacher in England and Wales.

Towards the beginning of 1640, Erbury returned to Cardiff, where he formed a church, on the model of Llanfaches, which was founded by Wroth (who had been ejected by Laud about October, 1639) and his sympathizers. It was in Womanby Street, off Castle Street, that Erbury gathered his followers together. "The first chapel was built in 1696; present chapel built 1847, still standing on the site of the old, with the word 'Trinity' on its front, but since 1889 abandoned, the church amalgamating with the Llandaff Road Congregational Church (now 'The Brethren'); since October 11, 1894, worshipping in New Trinity, Cambridge Road" (see Official Handbook compiled by Mr. Ifano Jones, Welsh Librarian, Cardiff).

Erbury, it seems, was a disciple of the Dutch mystic Jacob Behme. To the influence of his mysticism is attributed the Fifth-Monarchy movement in Wales against the Protector and all earthly kings, which was led by Vavasour Powell, Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd, and Major-General Thomas Harrison. It is in this light that we understand Erbury's democratic tendencies, and his vehement opposition to episcopacy, and to "tythe-paid ministers," of whatever creed. On September 2, 1653, Erbury published "Ministers for Tyths." "Being a manifest proof that these men are no Ministers of the Gospel, who follow the Magistrate for a worldly maintenance, and Fee the Lawyers to plead for Tythes." "Ministers for Tyths is such a thing," he said, "and Ministers of the Gospel to demand it as their spiritual due! it's such a monster that it made my Welsh blood to rise at your English religion." Previous to this, Erbury had declared against "all state-controlled and state-aided religions."

It is a big leap from Erbury, the seventeenth-century pioneer, to Morgan John Rhys, the eighteenth-century pioneer of the Disestablishment and Disendowment movement in Wales. Rhys was a Baptist minister at Hengoed, South Wales, and was regarded in his day as a Jacobin revolutionist. It was through his instrumentality chiefly, and that of Roberts of Llwynrhudol, and John Jones, or, as he was known among his countrymen, Jack Glanygors, that a spirit of political reform came into Wales, which was contemporaneous

with the French Revolution, the firstfruits of which were felt in Wales in the efforts made by Morgan John Rhys to inoculate the minds of Welshmen with some of the principles for which it stood. The idea of civil liberty, and the opening up of a career to every talent appealed to him.

In 1791 he resigned his pastorate, and spent the winter of 1791–2 in Paris to study the Revolution. During his stay he rented a hall where he held preaching services, and distributed the Scriptures. He saw how confidence in the French clergy had given way to hatred, leading to a widespread hatred of the French Church. When he returned to Wales he found the Church in a lethargic condition—so was Dissent—and what evils existed in the administration of the Church he attributed to its connection with the State.

How far the Jacobite feeling, which had undoubtedly existed in Wales, affected the policy of the Hanoverian sovereigns, is a question that cannot be determined; but the policy which they pursued was disastrous to the highest interest of the Church. It led to the cessation of the Welsh episcopate in North Wales. Not only did the Hanoverian sovereigns neglect the special needs of the Church in Wales, but they appointed to the Welsh bishoprics and to the most lucrative offices connected with the Church, men entirely ignorant of the Welsh language, and who had no affinity with the Welsh people. Broadly speaking, from the time of George I. down to 1870, the Episcopate in Wales was English and not Welsh; and the translations to England were so frequent, from the reign of George I. down to and including the reign of George III., that one is justified in accepting the conclusion that the appointments were made with a view to preferment, not with a view to serve the interests of the Church, or of the Welsh people. This suicidal policy was acquiesced in by English archbishops and bishops, whether from ignorance of the needs of Wales, or from hostility on the part of England towards Wales, it is impossible to say. It is a suggestive coincidence, that such appointments should substantially accord with the dates of the manifestations of Jacobite feeling in the Principality.

The parishes of Wales seem to have suffered much from

various causes at different periods. In 1566, the parishes of South-Western Wales were reported for being in great need of reform on account of men who lacked "good doctrine and true knowledge." In Northern Wales, in the following year, ninety per cent. of the clergy were returned as incapable of teaching God's word and unable to preach (State Papers Domestic, xliv. 27). It would be unjust not to state that the Church had then, as well as in later centuries, men of much learning; men who were companionable in their parishes, and whose devotion to the Church and to the spiritual interest of the people cannot be questioned. But the record of complaints is so uniform, that we are justified in concluding that the average standard of intellectual attainments was low; and that while some bishops made what efforts they could to improve matters, others were either incapable or indifferent to their episcopal duties. The pastoral conception of the office was in almost total abeyance, so was the administrative. There is much evidence to justify the charge of *nepotism* and coveteousness, which the advocates of Disestablishment have so often levelled against the English bishops in Wales.

One example will suffice. The total income from all Church sources of the Luxmores (Bishop Luxmore was made Bishop of St. Asaph in 1815) was about £25,225 a year, while the working clergy of the diocese of St. Asaph received between them only £18,000. Luxmore was not the only bishop of St. Asaph who was governed by excessive partiality for his relations, and who exhibited an utter disregard for the spiritual interest of the Church and for the special needs of Wales. While the Church in Wales has in some respects gained through its connection with Canterbury, we make bold to say, that if the Church party in England had done its duty by the Church in Wales, there would have been no necessity for the hurried rescue expedition upon which it spent so much money and energy when the controversy was at its height, and spent in vain, because it was too late.

It often happens in the history of movements that gradually assume national proportions, or in the history of revolutions, that some particular time or stage is marked by the conjunction

of some incident, which gives impetus to the movement, such, for instance, as the conjunction between Luther and Melanchthon. It was a lucky star in the development of the Reformation movement that brought Melanchthon to Wittenberg to teach Greek, on the morning of the 25th day of August, 1518, for it was on the 7th day of that fateful month that Luther received notice of his summons to Rome.

We do not think that we are exaggerating the importance of the political effect of Morgan John Rhys's going to Paris to study the causes and effects of the French Revolution, and its effect upon the Disestablishment movement; we regard it as among the most significant and influential of all that befel it during the period of incubation. That Rhys had a clear, strong conviction before he went to Paris there can be no doubt, and that what he saw and heard revealed to him a new light, an open and a plain duty, which he did not hesitate to take, there can also be no doubt. There was plenty of material in Wales for a hostile propaganda against the Church, for those were the days when political qualifications outweighed ecclesiastical qualifications, and when, on that account, Welshmen were at a disadvantage. With these and other evils Puritanism had nothing to do; indeed, they were the very evils against which Puritanism rightly protested, and loyal Churchmen deplored.

In February, 1793, there appeared the first number of his new quarterly, *Y Cylchgrawn Cymmraig*, in which, as in the four subsequent numbers, Rhys advocated the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church, the reform of Parliamentary representation, and other political reforms which proved that he was a Jacobin in full sympathy with the French Revolution. In the first issue of the *Cylchgrawn*, we find the following: "Every kind of despotism in religion is unchristian. It is not strange that the respected body called Quakers account as persecution the taking of the tithe and offering from them every year, for the next thing to taking a man's life is to take his living, and that to feed men who do him no service whatever. But it is great dishonour to Christians that they compel Deists and Atheists, together with all the terrible blasphemers in the world, to uphold their

religion. How can they convince these of the truth of their religion while they take possession of their property by force?"

This was like the note of the robin, marking the approach of a new season; though, as we have already said, it was not the first note of that kind. Its significance was, perhaps, not fully comprehended at the time; but by transferring the question to the forum and the Press, it created interest in and diffused a knowledge of it. The Press eventually became one of the most effective instruments of the movement; it was always on the offensive, and the Church failed to use even those means of defence within its powers.

It should, however, be observed that the activities of Morgan John Rhys were not confined to political reform. On his return to Wales he founded a Bible Society to supply the French people with Scriptures. That was twelve years before the founding of the "British and Foreign Bible Society." He it was who first expounded the Sunday School system to the Welsh in their own language. He gave prominence to the catechistical form of teaching. Unlike Robert Raikes, he provided for both young and old—a feature which still distinguishes Welsh Sunday Schools. In 1794 he published a book containing suggestions how to form Sunday Schools, with lessons in reading, catechism, songs and prayers for children. He was in every regard in advance of his age, and was compelled to leave the country for America in 1794, on account of his political views. He founded in 1798, a Welsh settlement in the Alleghany Mountains, Pennsylvania, called Cambria. After ten years of active service in America, he died, December 7, 1804, at Somerset, Pa., and was buried in the cemetery of the First Baptist Church at Philadelphia.

These references to the activities of this remarkable character are not out of place, if only for the reason that Wales is so heavily indebted to him as a pioneer of the Sunday School system. But so closely do his life and teaching bear upon the Disestablishment movement, that an historian is bound to recognize him. His ideas took root, and twenty-six years after his death the movement took definite shape and form. It was championed in the year 1830, by the Revs. D. Morgan, Llanfyllin; Arthur Jones, D.D., Bangor; Hugh Pugh, of

Mostyn, Gwilym Caledfryn; and others. The Welsh have a genius for abstract theories and ideal systems; they have an innate tendency towards metaphysics, that is, to probe into the principles and causes of existing things. A perusal of the vernacular literature in its treatment of the principle of Disestablishment and other subjects bearing upon speculative philosophy, will amply demonstrate the justice of this observation.

Broadly speaking, the period which the movement covers is a period that connotes the quickening into life of latent native elements, and the coming of the Welsh to self-consciousness; the inauguration of the Welsh newspaper press; the unfolding of the common intelligence; the formation of public opinion on religious, social, and political questions; discontent with the general governing principle of British legislation affecting Wales; aspirations in the direction of a larger measure of self-government according to Welsh ideas, and more in touch with the Welsh character and Welsh history; the demand for statutory recognition of the Welsh language in civil affairs and in the words of declaration and contract which make marriage legal; the transference of the control of Parliamentary representation and the direction of public affairs from the hands of the Whigs and the land-owning classes to the hands of the people at large; the going of ambitious Welshmen to the great seats of learning in England that they might equip and place themselves, and help the Welsh people to equip and place themselves, on a more equal footing with the Saxon; the diversion of the Welsh intellect into educational channels, which resulted in the establishment of Board Schools, Secondary and Intermediate Schools, and University Colleges with a University Senate; the taking over of the question of the culture of the nation, nationally, by leading Nonconformist divines; the revival of the critical or historical spirit in Wales, which was neither Welsh nor English, but German in its origin; the demand of Nonconformists that their own ministers should have the right to bury their own dead, which resulted in the passing of the Burials Amendment Act; and the successful demand for a Parish and District Council, as a substitute for

the old Vestry meeting annually held, at which the Vicar of the parish presided in virtue of his office; and the tithe agitation.

It might be asked by the uninitiated, what have these symptoms of social disquietude, and other symptoms we might name, such as the Chartist Riots; the controversy over Government grants for educational purposes; the teaching of the Church Catechism, and other formularies, to the children of Dissenting parents; the making of the tithe a definite charge upon the land; the application to Wales of the ecclesiastical laws which had been enforced in the spiritual courts in England; the Church rates, and the manner in which they were collected, to do with the movement for the Disestablishment of the Church? The answer is, that they have had a very great deal to do with it. Back of all these movements there was the suspicion that the Church was a restraining hand, and that suspicion coiled, perceived and unperceived, through suspected and unsuspected paths, stinging mortally as it went along. Time rather hardened than softened the asperity, which reached its point of frenzy during the tithe agitation. Of all the ignoble episodes connected with the drama of the Disestablishment movement, there is none to equal this. If the curtain were lifted high enough, it would be difficult for men across the border to believe that a people who boast that they possess that new and more powerful spirit, the genius for religious and political freedom, could have been deliberately guilty of such affronts, indignities, even cruelties.

This much, however, is necessary to recall to the historical student concerning the distinguishing characteristics of the movement, that hatred of the tithe seems to have been very prominent among the causes assigned; the political and religious factors were made to run on parallel lines. We are of opinion that the political instinct which animated so large a portion of the Welsh people, could not have been so well sustained had it not been for the passion for "religious liberty and equality." The one fed the other, and became a medium of expression for the other.

Respecting the part played by the vernacular press, as we

deal fully in our work, "A Study in Nationality," with the literary aspect of the Welsh awakening which followed the religious revival of the eighteenth century, we need only remark here, that it travelled on lines that were more civic and political than religious, though religious and theological questions occupied a large place. Among the subjects treated were the Abolition of Church Rates, Disestablishment, Game Laws, Education, the Rebecca Riots, the Chartist movement, Disendowment, A Free Church, Tithes, Agriculture, Religious Equality in its relation to Religious Liberty, the Church and Landlordism, the Church and the Nation. With one exception—that of the late Thomas Gee—these periodicals were published or edited by Nonconformist ministers. The Church had a talented and energetic supporter in the Editor of *Yr Haul* (*The Sun*) in the person of the Rev. David Owen ("Brutus"), who on account of his political views, and his outspoken criticism of Nonconformity, had to leave the Independents.

It has been said by one eminent historian of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, that without the printing press it could not have occurred. We say of the Welsh Disestablishment campaign, that but for the vernacular press it would have been a different affair from the historical movement. It aimed at getting the reading public to study Disestablishment from the ethical side, from the side of political science, and sociology. It sought to show that Disestablishment, as well as Disendowment, was a thing to be desired on the ground of "equality and justice," by representing the Church as an anti-social ecclesiastical autocracy actuated by selfish interests in which the general good of the community had no place; by fixing the idea firmly in the public mind that the Church had got entirely out of touch with the fundamental tendencies of the Welsh people; looking to the landowning classes, and to the English-speaking population, for support and protection; and placing difficulties in the way of the Welsh to work out their political salvation according to their own ideas.

Beaumarchais, in his "Marriage de Figaro," says, with a sneer, that "it is only small minds that are afraid of small

writings." But it is small writings, or writings of the kind to which we have referred, that large minds have reason to dread, or to respect; especially when the authors are talented men—mostly ministers who neither expected nor received any remuneration—daily in contact with facts of contemporary life, individual and corporate; men who had their finger on the pulse of a restive, hot-headed, and adventurous people who were making ferocious exertions to swell out into larger consequence, and who sacrificed money and time to provide what is indispensable in every progressive and enlightened community, namely, organs for the expression of the will of the people. Such men and writers bred convictions, and kindled enthusiasm, even fanaticism, all the more dangerous because of its deadly earnestness.

In addition to these political and philosophical writers with their hard reasoning, a group of half-educated literary proletarians and pamphleteers made their appearance, whose ambition seemed to be to revive the history of the Church to suit prevailing prejudices. Historical facts, detrimental to the credit of the Church, were reproduced; other facts were distorted for the sake of establishing theories, with the result that the Church was made a suspect among the rising generation. It was entirely on the defensive, and, chiefly through the lack of qualified men, it failed to make the best of the case.

"It seems to me," said William of Orange, "that I was born in this bad planet that all I do might be misinterpreted." "My shortcomings," he said on another occasion, "are all noted, the good which I have accomplished passed over in silence." Such seems to have been the fate of the Church during the time the Disestablishment movement was germinating. Indeed, the descendants of the people who had been pent up in a narrow and mountainous corner of the earth, quarrelling with each other, and with the world for centuries, keeping alive a natural pugnacity of character, seemed at last to have found in the Church a common foe upon which they could focus their prejudices. It shows, if nothing else, that they had blood in their veins. But these religious and political propagandists were acting, as they always acted, on the principle, that these and other tumults were better than

the silence born of the monotonous days which succeeded the Conquest, and that their very unruliness was a means of educating the Welsh for their future work.

Account must also be taken of the many poetical effusions, some humorous, some scurrilous, founded on some unfortunate incident or incidents in the lives of certain clerics, which were composed, read, and quoted, partly in a spirit of malice, partly under an impulse of boisterous fun ; but they served to make the priesthood a butt for ridicule. These poets, or so-called poets, were the oracles of the community in their day, and they became important political engines ; their lucubrations partook of the character of the modern periodical press. From the point of view of taste and style, they were not very commendable; but neither squire nor parson desired the ill-will of those poetical satirists; yet it must be said that they rendered some service by expressing in their own verse, acts of petty tyranny and the abuses that had been going on in the different localities under the cloak of religion. Mixed with their vulgarities and buffoonery, there was a good deal that was patriotic. Unquestionably, the spirit of liberty pervaded the soul of these somewhat rude and illiterate men.

For a parallel we may go back to the days of Sir David Lindsay (1490–1555), the famous Scottish poet, and author of "The Satyre of the Three Estates," "Answer to the King's Flyting," and "The Monarchie." His humour was coarse ; but his main purpose seems to have been to bring the Roman Church and the Roman clergy into contempt. He did as much as any pre-Reformation man to overthrow the power of the clergy in Scotland; to shake the faith of the people in the Church, and to turn public opinion against such superstitions as the invocation of saints and the veneration of images.

We find the same thing in the days of Philip the Good in the latter end of the fifteenth century. The vices of the clergy of the Netherlands of those days were ridiculed and satirized in verse and song, and the tyranny of the times was dramatized for public execration. The various guilds, societies, and rhetorical chambers, which were formed in the

most obscure villages for the purpose of amusing the leisured hours of the people with these poetic effusions, dramatic and musical exhibitions, exercised enormous influence upon the religious reformation and the subsequent revolt of the Netherlands. So potent had they become as political agencies, that the sovereigns were anxious to conciliate them by becoming members of them in person.

An acquaintance with the poetical productions of more ancient times in Wales, is necessary to a proper understanding of the influences that contributed to the anti-Church movement. They show how the poetic and dramatic activities of those times befitted and denoted the sentiments and social characteristics of the people. They were not always compatible with what was true, for part of their power was in their exaggeration. They were the sign of the coming epoch, as the swallow is the sign of the coming summer. Whatever may be the opinion as to their merits, they take a place in the history of the development of the Disestablishment movement in the Principality.

Popular views of history must always be a great factor in every revolutionary movement, and its course depends very largely upon whether those views be true or false. There is force in what Döllinger said, that the suffering classes of the French nation would have behaved very differently in the years of preparation before the outbreak of the Revolution, if they had been acquainted with their own history and had drawn correct conclusions from it.

Another concomitant factor of the Disestablishment movement was the social and the agrarian. Nowhere was the disparity created by economic conditions more glaring; nowhere was the taint of servility more apparent, or more distressing. Undoubtedly, the credit of the Church, we would almost say its character, was injured, even falsified, by its association with interests which did not directly concern its spiritual life. By this is meant the interests of the landowners and of the Conservative Party. The following excerpt from a monthly magazine called *Y Cronicl*, which had a very wide circulation among Welsh Independent Churches in the Principality, will suffice to show the light

in which the landed gentry had come to be regarded, and how the clergy were associated with them. "Thousands of them (meaning the farming community) have given the strength of their days to their masters for nothing but their food. They are poorer to-day after all their labour and care than they were thirty years ago. The landlords treat them as slaves. The serfs of Russia, however oppressed, have earned more the last forty years than the majority of tenant farmers of the highlands of Wales. The landlords of Wales are no better than the barons of Russia. Soon the land will be deserted. No one will remain to cultivate it but parsons, beggars, stewards, turncoats, gamekeepers, and bailiffs."

It may be that his manner, as well as the manners of most Welsh agitators, left much to be desired, but the strain of coarseness which ran through their nature, and the exaggeration which characterized their public utterances, shows the force of Heine's celebrated saying: "The polish of Erasmus, the benignity of Melanchthon, would never have brought us so far as the divine brutality of Martin Luther." We may add, that the brutality in both cases was far more in evidence than the divinity.

Of one thing the tenant farmers of Wales may be assured, the civil authorities, whose duty it will be to collect the tithes, will not be as lenient as were many of the clergy in the days when distress had overtaken their homes, or when agriculture was in a depressed state. They have only exchanged one "extortioner" for another, and, we are afraid, a more exacting one.

This is not to say that Welsh landlords as a class have been cruel to their tenants. There have been chivalrous ones among them; men who were indulgent and kindly disposed, and who had some hold on the affections of their tenants. Others were intensely inhuman, who lived up to the maxim: "the earth is the landlords' and the fulness thereof"; who seemed rather gratified at the sight of their tenants half filled with terror, as their carriages spluttered past along the highway. "Our rights are menaced, our privileges are in danger," said the witty Rivarol, on the eve of the French Revolution, to a conservative nobleman, as he

contemplated the spread of revolutionary opinions. "Our privileges?" asked the nobleman in surprise. "Yes, is there anything singular in that?" replied Rivarol. "Oh," retorted the nobleman, "it was your plural I thought singular."

It was just in this light that many Welsh landlords, especially their agents, who were aliens by race and sympathies, regarded their tenants. The air of interest which they affected at elections, was none the less alluring because the peasants in their hearts had come to regard such solicitations as insincere. For many decades the farmers and farm labourers had been as docile as their own sheep accustomed to be shorn; living on a hard and scanty fare; their families content with potatoes and buttermilk, or a little skim-milk cheese with oaten bread, and one red herring between two, three or four children, for a meal at the school some miles away from the home. Some better off than others might have a little bacon occasionally, but no fresh meat. The butter went to help to pay the rent. No reading-rooms were provided on the estates; a weekly Welsh paper was a luxury.

Some of the landlords housed their dogs and horses better than they housed their tenants. In some instances walls had to be propped up by the farmers to prevent their falling and killing the inmates; there were no proper sanitary arrangements. The female members of the farm-house had to pass through the men's bedrooms to their own. Father and mother and children, between fifteen and twenty years of age, were obliged to sleep in the same room; one sleeping-room upstairs, where the tailor, the man-servant, and the maid-servant, or servants, had to sleep, with no divisions between them; no ceiling overhead between them and the slate roof, and the wind driving in the rain and snow between the slates. The majority of farm-houses had no partition at all upstairs; no floorings to the kitchens; and the chimney was so large that the sky could be seen, and through it the rain and snow came down. For such miserable hovels they had to pay a rental of from £80 to £100 a year. Even when there was a general reduction in English rents after 1870 there were no reductions in Wales. In five of the North Wales counties rents went up by 16 per cent., and that in spite of the fact that the price of

agricultural produce had fallen; that the rates had increased; and that the wages of the labourers had also increased.

It is truth to tell, that some of these very landlords who were guilty of such incredible neglect, made what unchastity existed among the agricultural population a matter of jest, as if it were a racial peculiarity; and as if it should be attributed solely to the custom of night courtship, a custom which had prevailed among the various European peoples as a survival from the Middle Ages. There was no such immorality among the quarrymen of the north, in those districts where there was proper housing accommodation. It has been established that the improvement in the morals of the agricultural communities has been coincident with the improvement in farm-house accommodation.

We deal with these facts because a clear understanding of them is necessary for a proper apprehension of the background of the subject under consideration. The peasantry were only waiting for the right kind of leaders; for men who knew not fear; and who could afford to be reckless. They believed in something higher and better than what the existing system provided. When these leaders appeared with fine democratic sentiments on their flippant lips, with hints at the disparity between the lot of the peasantry and that of the landowning classes, and with side-thrusts at the Church as the ally of the landowners, and at the clergy as hangers-on, the response was instant and general. Capital was made out of the fact that some landlords, instigated by their agents, had refused to grant land for the erection of chapels and schoolrooms; and when, in a few cases, they had been granted, the conditions imposed were humiliating and prohibitive. The clergy were even openly charged with having used their influence in favour of their own adherents in the competition for farms, and when leases had to be renewed. Many of these charges were either untrue or exaggerated.

But the presence of Church dignitaries (even before Disestablishment had been made a political issue) on a political platform, surrounded by county magnates, in support of the landlord's nominee, or the nominee of the Conservative party in London, gave colour to the growing suspicion that the Church

was not a force on the side of progress. Some of these candidates were aliens, who knew nothing of Welsh history; and who could not address the electors in their own tongue. Some were members of the landowning classes, who had no real sympathy with the native population. When they visited the constituency once a year, they were not taken seriously, though they had the power. They were deficient in the gift of speech, and had no real knowledge of, or taste for, politics.

It eventually became a part of the creed of the propagandists, that it was better to get the public to believe too much than too little concerning the processes of "moral and intellectual deterioration" that marked the history of the Church at certain periods, and the *alleged* ignoble part it had played in the modern development of Wales. Every consideration which told in its favour was overwhelmed by the dominant political feeling which was infected into the movement by men who wanted to be on the crest of the wave, and who took advantage of their own ascendency to avenge the wrongs which they claimed to have suffered, and their forbears had suffered. Their object was to destroy, not to reform the Church. Politicians, some of whom now occupy the highest positions under the Crown, encouraged, both by direct teachings, and by example, light jesting of the things which the Church held sacred; they twitted the Church with having been autocratic and selfish, only to become themselves autocratic and selfish. They sought to establish their case with such palpable sophism, that one might have thought they were the disciples of heathen sophists and rhetoricians.

The sects, they said, had withdrawn from the Church in order that they might realize that ideal of religious fellowship, and that form of self-government, which was not attainable within the Church. They were further told that they had to carry the separatist movement to its logical conclusion, by disestablishing the Church, and by disendowing it also; that such a measure was a postulate of pure democracy, and of social and religious equality; and that it had to come to pass if Welsh national life was to be remodelled in conformity with the modern spirit, and if class principles were to be abolished.

In exposing the evils of the landed system they thought that they were striking the Church; and in exposing the shortcomings of the Church, and in denouncing the tithe system, they thought that they were striking the landowners; the two, they said, were indissolubly connected. The effects produced by these prophets of liberty, and of a better economic system, was just such as might have been expected, for the peasantry were ready to take up with anything that came with a plausible face; and they did not seem to know how to draw the line between that which was local and temporary in the life of the Church, and that which was essential and permanent. Defects in individuals were looked upon as defects in the situation, as such.

Thus we see how the Church which was for many centuries the most formidable body in the Principality of Wales; which held the balance of social and political power; which at one time possessed, apparently, every guarantee of security and stability, began to lose its hold upon the community and continued to do so until Disestablishment became a matter of urgent practical politics; finally being compelled by the necessities of the situation to appeal to the chivalry and the sense of justice of Nonconformity, which is only 250 years old, for a more generous treatment respecting the endowments which it has held for over a thousand years.

What are the conclusions? It is clear that the defects of the Church were functional, not organic. That it was not in fact, what it was in ideal; that its leaders lacked that prophetic instinct which should enable them to see what was lying in the womb of the future; that its churchmanship was of too narrow and exclusive a type; that its spirit was not sufficiently conciliatory in character; that its alien bishops did not appreciate the temperament of the Welsh people, or their particular needs; that its own form of service was not elastic enough; that instead of trying to exercise influence over the Nonconformist mind and the mode of its manifestation, its exponents treated it as if it was merely a passing mood; that it failed to take cognizance of change of opinions regarding the policy to be pursued in the sphere of education, and the relation of the State to education;

that it failed to understand and to measure the rise of new social and political forces; that it proved itself incapable of accommodating itself to every age as it came along, thus allowing its best blood to drop out of its veins; that it was not adequately equipped for the work it had to do; that it relied too much upon its parochial system and too little upon the gift of preaching, and upon the pastoral element; that during a period when Wales was less English than it is to-day, it was obliged to accept as bishops and pastors monoglot Englishmen, who had no sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the people, and who could not, therefore, be their Christian leaders and teachers. There are some parishes in essentially Welsh districts in South Wales, where, up to 1855, no Welsh services had been held in the parish church for a hundred years.

It may be asked, Is not the Disestablishment controversy over? Does it not seem waste of labour to discuss at such length the causes that have practically severed the Church from its connection with the State? The answer is twofold. First, we are of the opinion that Churchmen have taken too limited a view of the movement. Nonconformity is far from expressing all that it has involved; there are economic and social factors over which Nonconformity has had no kind of control. The movement needs to be reinterpreted. Secondly, though it is over, as we think, its predestined issues are only beginning to work, and they will continue to work, as the predestined issues of the Reformation, the French and American Revolutions, and the Peace of Westphalia are still at work. There are but few, if any, now alive, who will see the last results of Disestablishment. We do not look upon Disestablishment as a defeat for the Church and a victory for Nonconformity.

As to Disendowment, grievous as it will be for the Church, if it is finally executed, it will be of greater consequence to Nonconformity. For the honour of Noncomformity, and for its credit with posterity, we say it would be a blessing to itself if in this hour, when so many hearts are bowed down with sorrow and loss, and when so many efforts are being made to alleviate this sorrow, and to compensate for this

loss, a strong, magnanimous, high-souled man, would make his appearance in the ranks of Nonconformity, who could lead it in the right direction, so as to save it from disgrace, and to prevent the infliction of more sorrow, and more loss not only upon an ancient institution, but upon many worthy men, and upon many homes that have never had an over-abundance. With regard to this aspect of the problem, what Welsh Nonconformity needs is the outlook of generalship, and the outlook of love.

As to Disestablishment, we do not regard it simply in the light of an accomplished fact; we estimate it, as we estimate the Reformation, in the light of what it has made possible. The immediate results of the Reformation were disappointing; it did not accomplish as much as had been hoped, from an ethical point of view, or from the point of view of enlightenment; the Reformation left Germany as immoral as it had ever been, account for it as we may. It was when Germany broke away from all that was distinctive of Lutheranism, that it assumed the leadership of the world in science and philosophy. So long as Germany adhered to Protestant scholasticism, it remained in the rear of the enlightened nations of Europe.

The Reformation, however, made toleration not only possible, but inevitable; it gave birth to ideals that have since ruled the world for its good; it established the principle that reason and experience rather than authority, whether of pope, bishop, doctrine, church, or tradition, are, for free men and free communities, to be the test of faith and conduct.

What has Disestablishment made possible or inevitable? It has made inevitable a form of government within the Church, as amenable to what is good and truly progressive as the collective wisdom of the Church can make it; that alone is a distinct advance. It ill becomes those who have been active instruments in bringing Disestablishment about, to taunt Churchmen that they are incapable of self-government, for one of the arguments they used was that it would give the laity a larger amount of control. It was by a slow process, marked by many mistakes, that Nonconformity has

learned the art of self-government; though it has yet much to learn in this direction, and much wisdom to acquire.

Disestablishment has made it inevitable that every Churchman should ask: "What can I do to help?" That also is of great gain, for too long did they assume that because the Church was connected with the State, it was bound to prosper. Disestablishment has given the Church spiritual independence, for it will no longer be so involved as it once was, in Acts of Parliament. It has made it necessary for the Church to revise not only its ecclesiastical system, but its ecclesiastical manner of thought and action; a most salutary lesson, if properly applied and learned, and learned by the only infallible means open to mankind—hard experience. To what extent and in what manner the pure spirit of democracy must be diluted to make for efficiency, is for the Church itself to decide; but that greater respect must be paid to the grievances and legitimate desires of parishioners, is obvious, and Disestablishment has made it inevitable.

Disestablishment has made it necessary for the Church to ask itself: "Now that I am disowned by the State, to what end was I born?" A most pertinent question: to discover the answer to it, or to be reassured of it, or to see it in a new light—in the light of its own new mentality and its new environment—constitutes the secret of the worth of its developed intellect, its disciplined moral strength, and its spiritual power. Having discovered it, the next step is to gather its faculties together into a complete and efficient team; to find the threads of its life and to knit them together into one systematic design, and to develop it in the interest of the community as a whole. This will mean a further and a more useful elaboration of its discriminative and associative activities, which will enable the Church to discover characteristics in itself which may have hitherto escaped its attention or its knowledge; which will also enable it to see not only itself, but its environment and its future, in a new way, and to perceive new objects in the old.

CHAPTER II

THE RENAISSANCE OF WALES

The term "Renaissance" has come to signify an epoch; the epoch during which the change from the mediæval to the modern world was in progress; and we may date the beginning of this change according as we look at it on its intellectual, æsthetic, literary, or political side. The date that would suit Germany, or Italy, would not suit France, England, or Scotland, for the reason that its influence did not penetrate these countries simultaneously, nor in the same manner. Broadly speaking, the epoch of the Renaissance may be taken as denoting the transition which took place during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though in essence it cannot be said to have spent itself within the limits commonly assigned to it, for as the Reformation of the sixteenth century may be properly regarded as a continuation of the Renaissance, so may the French Revolution, as well as other subsequent movements that have made a distinct impression on several succeeding generations. Indeed, the Humanist movement has insinuated itself into so many departments of knowledge and intellectual pursuits, that its impulse is still felt.

As to the Renaissance of Wales, if we study it in the light of its dominant notes, we need experience no difficulty in assigning an approximate date, or dates, to its beginning; though it is far too early to assign a limit to it, for the movement has yet a long way to go, even to reach mid-Renaissance. In several branches of knowledge, and scientific achievement, Wales still remains in a backward state. In medicine, natural science, theology, philosophy, and pure criticism, the Welsh are still mere transcribers and imitators. In the

sphere of literature, in its narrower sense, that is, in classical study, there is no evidence of a creative effort. England is here, as in other branches, the great preceptor of Wales, English classics forming the foundation in the schools of Wales. There have been some serious and highly commendable efforts in the region of historical study, in so far as it relates to the Welsh people. But Wales has no acute and independent thinker capable of rousing the interest of a wide circle—whose name will be worth recording in history. Welshmen are so submissive to public opinion, that there does not seem to exist sufficient courage to oppose its verdict.

There are a few who would be reckoned in any centre of learning as genuine scholars, who have for the most part gained their information not in Wales, but in England, France, and elsewhere. But Wales has no unofficial learned class—a class of men whose lifetime is devoted to the pursuit and extension of knowledge; there are a few specialists in physical science, mechanics, and technical knowledge. The democratic spirit which pervades the politics of the country seems to have penetrated the organs of intellectual life and of Welsh University education. To counteract the consequences of this tyranny of democracy is a problem that deserves consideration. Though Wales has for centuries been eminently Protestant in spirit, and has produced many powerful preachers of great social influence, Welsh Protestant theology cannot claim a single leader or master whose name would be recognized as an authority outside Wales.

There seems but very little desire to profit by the results obtained through Oriental studies in connection with the history of religions, and but very little attention has been paid to the history of civilization. There have been of recent years a few isolated attempts at original dramatic literature; and poetical tradition is not wanting. But in some branches of literature, and in many spheres of learning and research, Wales is not well represented, and the signs of independent development are few. In so far as they can be recognized, they are more sharply defined in the realm of religion, politics, and education, than elsewhere.

Every nation, like every age, and every age in every

nation's life, has its own special characteristics, which are not, however, always easy to define and differentiate, for human nature is always the same. So that every age is, in some respect, like every other. In many respects there is often only a difference in degree. Maitland, in his *Dark Ages*, says, that there is no real line of demarcation between one age and another. Though he is writing with special reference to the ninth and three succeeding centuries, he means to say that one age melts gradually and imperceptibly into another.

The reader will make his own deduction as to how far, if at all, one might be justified in exempting Wales from this category. There are elevations and depressions that cannot be obliterated. There are relative divisions, by which we mean divisions that are relative to the point of view from which we study the past—and a brief reference to them is essential to a right understanding of the advancement of Wales in civilization, and in the direction of the trend and capacity of the human intellect. It will also enable us to see whether the advancement has been capricious; that is, without order or system; or whether it has proceeded on the lines of an inevitable succession of events leading to a definite end.

In dealing with the Renaissance of Wales, as with that of any other nation, much depends upon the point of view, and the point of view depends upon the objective. History may be approached from the point of view of literature, or politics, or philosophy; the same dates or data will not suit in each case, even when it is desired to establish the same results. We deal with the Renaissance of Wales, in this connection, from the point of view of the philosophical rather than the political historian, and for a different purpose. The political historian would deal, very largely, with a different set of facts, and with a different process of thought and events.

Much also depends upon the starting-point. For the purposes of this work, we have taken the Tudor period, which marks the beginning of a new social and political era in Wales, in virtue of which she has very largely reached her present dimensions. It is this, in part, that makes the reign of Henry VIII. of the highest interest to the student of

political history, just as the new political idea of an undivided state in France governed by one central and more or less absolute authority, as distinguished from the old feudal kingdom with its independent fiefs, makes the reign of Louis XI. of the greatest importance to that country; and as of France it may be said of Wales, the increase of strength and unity which she gained by the consolidation of the kingdom through the Act of Union, was a most helpful preparation for the new phase of civilization upon which she was about to enter.

The significance of this may be gauged by the glimpses of the social condition in Wales, during the Tudor period, which may be gleaned from that treasury of somewhat unworked material "The Star Chamber Proceedings." It is obvious that national characteristics must necessarily contribute to the success or failure of any system of government. Even the degree of civilization which Wales attained during the Tudor period was not attained without some corresponding disintegration. The rate of progress was slow and difficult; it took many generations to establish law and order on a firm basis, for the Welsh were much less amenable to discipline, or to constituted authority, or to the dictates of the moral code, than they are now.

The Wales of Henry VIII., and of Queen Elizabeth, as well as the Wales of a later date, was a *living Wales* in more than one respect. The tribal feeling continued to exist. There was not sufficient cohesion among the people to produce united action when necessary, and they were without any kind of polity. They were unconscious of common ties, except the ties that separated them from each other. Internecine strifes were so common that they had become chronic. Blows were given and received, and blood was freely shed. Lawless and violent men bent on mischief roamed about the country. Marriageable women, especially fatherless girls and widows, who were entitled to land or portions, were forcibly carried away and disposed of to the highest bidder.

The common inquiry which would be made of any one who had attended the Welsh *mabsants*, or revels, would be,

after the preliminary one as to who was there, "Well, what fighting was there?" Even the assembling of people together for public worship was made an occasion for breaches of the peace. Every one who could afford the cost of a weapon went armed week-days and Sundays; disturbances within the portals of the churches were not uncommon. While the service was in progress, a party of strong men, armed with cudgels, daggers, and other weapons, would enter the church; at the conclusion of the service they would leave in haste, and range themselves outside close to the door, with their weapons held in a threatening manner, waiting for their opponents. So common had these feuds become, that in the reign of Edward V. an Act was passed prohibiting the carrying of weapons either in church or churchyard. This Act was regarded in Wales as a vexatious interference with the liberty of the subject. Sir Robert Peel's Act, called "The Peeler," was a great preventive force, and was highly successful in educating the people in the art of civilization, and in teaching them to respect the rights of others.

Something, indeed much, was due to the territorial distribution under Henry VIII. In the latter part of his reign, his necessities compelled him to raise money by almost any means; manors and lands were granted and leased on a large scale. "A good penn'orth" was to be had at the hands of the king for the asking. This led to all sorts of feuds between the squires of the various parishes and the smaller gentry, notably in South Wales between the Carne family and the Herberts and their ally Sir Rice Mansell. These families would attack each other on the slightest provocation. This is the darker side of the Tudor period.

The Anglo-Welsh Union was, however, an honest attempt at civilizing and uniting a courageous, though a turbulent people, and at enlisting them in the service of the Empire. The Welsh had fought enough battles, if they had been successful ones, to have entitled them to an Empire, under more fortunate circumstances. But partly through internal disunion, they failed to attain the object of their policy. It was unity they needed, and that could only come through a firm central government. It is in the emphasis on their

contrasts and in their separation that we find the key to their misfortunes. A certain fatality of history had perpetually helped to separate them still more widely from other nations, especially from the English. The centrifugal forces had been far too extensively developed. By interposing the centripetal, the Act of Union brought to a close the many weary ages of isolation. It gave Wales a new orientation; a new civic consciousness; a new sense of international fellowship which brought her into closer touch with the institutions of Norman England, and helped to project her into the world current.

National solidarity is not to come by way of racial or civil distinctions; but by detecting and stimulating elective affinities which exist; by creating affinities out of interests that are common; and by fusing into a whole all valuable and contrasted characteristics. This is the secret of the onward movement of mixed populations, and the strength of prosperous communities. The Act of Union was never meant to form a homogeneous nation of pure Welsh or pure English origin; that would have been fatal. Nevertheless, it was destined to lessen mutual repulsion, to the many grievous misfortunes resulting from which history bears testimony. Its central conception was an exchange of mutual attraction and support. It was both the sign and cause of the passing away of the old order of things.

The Tudor period also forms a connecting link between the old culture and the new; between Protestant and Roman Catholic Wales, which, during the dominance of the latter, was politically and educationally more or less in a moribund state. Not that it can be said that there was no literary activity in Wales in pre-Reformation times. On the contrary, the whole sap of the intellect and activities of the Welsh seems to have nourished native literature, both prose and poetic. It is in the literature of the Middle Ages that we find the best and ripest reflection of Welsh national characteristics, and of the Welsh genius in its most homely moods and tenses.

In the history of all literature there are recurring periods, which are at once periods of decline, preparation,

and creation; and they seem to reflect in a remarkable manner corresponding periods of vitality or decline of vitality, and the passing away of one phase of civilization to give scope to a new and later growth. It is in vigorous and free communities, or during periods of vitality in the life of free communities, that we look for great literature and great works of art, though they may continue to flourish after the vitality has spent itself, acquiring their solace and inspiration by imitation and from tradition. It has been so in the case of Wales.

As to the Reformation, it has been often said that it was unwelcomed in Wales, for the reason that it violated the most cherished convictions of Welshmen and the inhabitants of Wales. But the indications are, that there was a readiness to accept the Elizabethan Church. There was no rebellion, or organized opposition. The statutes for the dissolution of the monasteries and religious houses do not seem to have created any popular movement of an insurrectionary kind.

There is undoubted evidence that there were prominent figures in Welsh society who felt the reflex influence of Continental thought; that the spirit of free inquiry was beginning to make itself felt, and that this spirit took the form of opposition to the monasteries and of satires upon the monks. A study of the literature of pre-Reformation times in Wales goes to show that discussions on theological questions and monastic life were becoming more frequent, and that the tendency of these discussions was away from rather than towards Rome. Dafydd ap Gwilym, to whom George Borrow, in his *Wild Wales*, paid the extravagant compliment of being the "greatest genius who had appeared in Europe after the revival of literature," was extremely hostile to the monks; he was constantly attacking some of the tenets of Roman Catholic theology. The word "purgatory," with all its implications, was particularly objectionable to him.

It should, however, be stated that some of the Bards, who made the monks and the monastic system objects of ridicule, were by no means an example to the community of the virtues they championed; which shows that the movement against Roman Catholicism was intellectual rather

than moral. Just as in Germany, many of the leading Reformers were of anything but pure morals, notably Hutten the Humanist, who was crowned by Maximilian at Augsburg, July 12, 1517, as the greatest poet of Germany. For religion he cared but little. He himself was a moral decadent, but he was quick to appreciate the possibilities of the Lutheran movement as a means of promoting liberty, which to him meant independence of Rome, and the limitation or destruction of the Pope's temporal power. Even in England we find men like Marlowe, who flaunted his debauchery before the world, and also John Hawkins, the inaugurator of the slave trade, championing the cause of the Reformation.

There were other influences at work in Wales in the direction of the Reformation. Lollardism had made its influence felt among certain sections of Welsh society. Some of the most prominent and cultivated among the Bards were strangely inclined towards Lollardism, such as Sion Cent, who flourished in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. He has the reputation of being a learned divine in his day. His poetic effusions are saturated with theological ideas which inclined towards Puritanism.

There is the same anti-Roman strain in the poetry of Dafydd Nanmor, who appeared later in the same century (probably 1460): Roman Catholic scholars had to go abroad to Italy to find scope for their work. Dr. Morris Clynnog, who was appointed Bishop of Bangor by Mary, in 1558, though she died before he was consecrated, was obliged to escape to Rome, where the Pope appointed him, in 1579, first Rector of the English College. He was accompanied by Dr. Gruffydd Roberts, who was appointed Canon Theological of Milan by Cardinal Borronneo, in 1566. They found no sympathy among the people of Wales. If they had they would have remained, as others did in Ireland, to keep their faith alive. If Wales had remained Roman Catholic at heart, in spite of Elizabeth, Wales would have furnished a base for attacking Protestantism in England; it would have become a second Ireland, prepared for a counter-reformation. In fact, the Jesuits entirely failed to make any impression in Wales. Elizabeth was Welsh, a descendant of Henry Tudor;

this fact, together with the intrigues of the Jesuits against Elizabeth, had much to do with the allegiance of the Welsh to her dynasty. The capture by the Jesuits of the College at Rome, which was a Welsh presentation, and in which Welsh priests were being trained, had also something to do with Wales becoming a Protestant community.

If Wales had remained Roman Catholic, not only would her civilization be very different from what it is, but also her political history. There would have been no translation of the Scriptures; no free access to the Scriptures; no critical study of the Scriptures; no application to the Scriptures of methods of research which have been successfully applied to other bodies of ancient historical and literary compositions; no encouragement for the popular mind to consider, much less to accept, new views concerning revelation and supernaturalism in general; no great evangelical preachers, or pulpit orators; no popular education under public control, for the authority of the Church would be absolute. The fundamental ethical conceptions of the Welsh people would be entirely different; so would the whole social environment of the country. The Roman Catholic system is not favourable to self-government in the sphere of religion, or of political self-government, except under the ægis of ecclesiasticism. Yet it would be difficult to name a people more richly endowed with a talent for religion, and also with the passion for self-government in religion and politics; and self-government is the very life-blood of liberty.

It is claimed by some Roman and Anglo-Catholic priests in Wales that the Welsh are ritualistic by temperament; that their Puritanism is not the real voice of their nature, and cannot be a permanent expression of their religious character. That the spectacular appeals to the Welsh there can be no doubt, whether it be in the form of pageants, great singing festivals, or political demonstrations, stately equipages, or full-dress dramatic performances in chapels and schoolrooms. Even their funerals are pompous, like those of the Gauls or Celts of old. Never was the love of finery, of what is showy and fantastic, so great among the Welsh as it is to-day; or the love of money and material comfort. The

homes of the artizans are better adorned, so are the edifices in which they worship. In whatever direction we may look, the people, whether Welsh or English, are swelling out into larger consequences, looking for the best in form and substance, and demanding wages to support that position.

Yet, parodoxical as it may seem, although the Welsh of to-day, unlike their forefathers, and because they can better afford it, believe in worshipping as they believe in living in more congenial and artistic surroundings, they nevertheless still cling tenaciously to their Puritanical theology and gloomy hymnology. As to the hope, or the expectations so frequently expressed, that the old Catholic customs which have died out in Wales will some day reappear, we will only say that to the Welsh people of these modern times they have no religious significance whatever; the interest in them is purely traditional.

Welsh Wales is still Protestant in sentiment and conviction; where Ritualism and Sacerdotalism rear their heads, the impulse is wholly clerical. The inspiration does not come from the people of any nationality whatever, much less from the Welsh. These practices are being forced upon the parishioners, in the majority of cases against their will. Protestantism appeals to the Welsh, as Stoicism appealed to the Romans, and Epicureanism to the Greeks. It has been the mainspring of their national action; it has dominated their intellectual life, and coloured their character. It is Protestantism that brought the Welsh into the spirit of the modern world. In proportion as Wales absorbed the elements of Western civilization, which were set in motion by the Reformation, she emerged from her long-continued lethargy. This is the great central fact in the history of the Renaissance of Wales.

If we were asked what is meant by Protestantism in its relation to Wales, or as it is conceived by the Welsh people, we would say that it partakes of modern Protestantism, and of the early Protestantism of Luther and Calvin, in its anti-Catholic doctrine of salvation. Yet, unlike the Protestantism of Luther and Calvin, it rejects the right of the Church to regulate society, or the State, or education. Its Protestantism

is modern in the sense that it accepts and enforces the principle of religious equality within the State, and the voluntary principle in the formation and maintenance of religious organizations, with a plurality of religious convictions and methods of expression. Like early Protestantism, it believes in the universal priesthood of believers, and in its principle of inwardness; but it stands in opposition to the idea of a hierarchically constituted Church, and a supernaturalistic ecclesiastical authority. No people could be more anti-Romish in principle and in spirit than the Welsh, and no people could possibly supply poorer intellectual material for a Church that seeks to build itself up on ritualistic, or sacerdotal, or Romish lines. We can no more separate Protestantism from the Renaissance movement in Wales than we can separate the Renaissance which owed its origin to Italy from the Reformation which was led, though not created or made, by Luther.

It is by studying modern Welsh society in its antithetical relation to what preceded it in pre-Reformation days, that we can see in what respects Wales had gained by the intrusion of Protestantism. It is by such a comparison that we can understand the systems of spiritual and secular functions which Roman Catholicism and Protestantism respectively favour and create; and how radically and absolutely they diverge in their mental outlook on the world, their social and political maxims, their theological doctrines, and in the whole of their practical action. To the degree Anglo-Catholicism imitates Roman Catholicism, to the same degree it will, by whatever names it designates itself, be regarded as anti-national in Welsh Wales. The name signifies but little, its spirit and polity are the things that matter.

As we have dealt rather exhaustively in our work, "The Philosophy of Welsh History," with the historical basis and the characteristics of Welsh development, and the lateness of the Renaissance movement in Wales as compared with England and Scotland, we will only remark here that we have never thought that the Welsh mind lacked genuinely developmental characteristics. A cursory glance at its present bent and properties will show that it possessed this

quality in an eminent degree, but that it has been suppressed and concealed by the influence of interior forces and prejudices. One of them is the mistaken notion that a distinctive language—and that the Welsh language—is essential to nationality.

Wales has, in the past, appealed to practically only one audience—members of her own family; a sort of mutual admiration society. She felt flattered when Renan and Matthew Arnold and Paxton Hood came along to give the English reading public a few sidelights on her most striking examples; but these men did not give a view of the whole; such a task would be beyond their power. Wales has never encouraged any of her own sons to give a scientific interpretation of her mentality and activities, or to introduce the products of her intellect and heart to the world in the language of the largest of all reading constituencies; and it can only be done from the inside. She has had men of conspicuous ability, of whom the great world has never heard even a whisper; and tons of literature lie buried in oblivion beneath the cover of the vernacular. Wales seems to have taken delight in composing elegies in honour of her self-inflicted martyrdom, and in agonizing over their recital, as if it were a virtue to wail and moan. Then she wonders why the foreigner does not put himself into the position of the Welshman, and look at his literature and at the great world with his eyes.

The force of the Renaissance wave has now brought Wales most unwillingly to a bilingual condition, which, we think, marks the attainment of a riper as well as of a later development. Her language is no longer able to maintain a well-defined independence; it is now on the defensive, being driven out of one stronghold after another; so that in the counties of Monmouth, Radnorshire, Breconshire, and Pembrokeshire, the churches in which services are now held in Welsh are very few in number, and are becoming fewer. The same process goes on in Glamorgan and other counties. It is with great regret and reluctance that many ardent Welsh ministers have been obliged to convert their services into English in order to keep their churches together.

There are some patriotic and educated Welshmen of the more rational type, who sincerely believe that it is best in the interest of Wales that she should retain her bilingualism, on account of the advantages of possessing an adequate knowledge and ready command of two languages; and that Welsh is a most valuable means of mental training. We will only briefly repeat here the view that we have always expressed; namely, that the geniuses of the Welsh and English languages are so essentially different, that it is impossible for this reason, and because of the duality of spirit which they generate, for the same qualities to exhibit the same brilliancy and force in both; which means that the speaking of two languages daily is not a help to intellectual development; and that no one can be a really great writer, or orator, in two languages. If there have been exceptions, they only prove the rule. This then is the linguistic phase of the Renaissance movement in Wales.

The earlier indications of the awakening come to us from a few individuals whose Welsh fame is due partly to their isolation—that is, to their conspicuous pre-eminence among their fellows; partly to their apprehension of the character of the spade work that was to be done. There does not seem to be any collective or organized movement, on any considerable scale, until we come to the Victorian era.

Not only do the earlier intimations of a progressive enlightenment in the primary stages emanate from isolated individuals, but they come from the school and the scholar, from the pen and the pulpit, rather than from the brush of the artist, or the chisel of the sculptor. It is more than difficult to discover when the feeling for beauty takes possession of the soul of a people, and manifests itself in the different forms of art. But the Renaissance of Wales seems to have taken the form of the enfranchisement of the intellect rather than of the senses. It is very singular that art should, historically speaking, wear for the collective Welsh mind such an uncongenial aspect; that it should have been so imperfectly reflected on the æsthetic side of life.

It is a law of human development that the passion for liberty appeals to the imaginative nature of men and of

nations before the intellectual. This law holds good in the case of Wales, for the Welsh are a liberty-loving people, as their history shows. But as the developments proceeded along more cultured and classic lines, it affected the intellect rather than the imagination; the imaginative faculty seems to have languished more and more, giving larger room for the practical faculty to work its way, or to harmonize itself more and more with the practical spirit. In a race so natively imaginative, one would have expected the growth to be of a more artistic character.

It is fortunate that the yearning created by the Renaissance movement in Wales has, traditionally, been after goodness rather than beauty, for the divinity rather than the humanity of life; otherwise its civilization might have been pagan as it was in Italy. This is the spiritual significance of the Renaissance movement in Wales; the rediscovery of the ethical, or moral element. This we attribute, partly, to the somewhat serious and plaintive nature of the Welsh, and their tendency to metaphysics. Puritanism has also been a factor; it has had the effect of strengthening rather than loosening the foundations of Welsh morality.

This is not to imply that Wales is unrepresented in the world of art, either in landscape or portrait painting. Indeed, she can point to some distinguished names both past and present; artists of singular power and truthfulness, whose reputation is by no means confined to the Principality. But the sphere of art is much more restricted among the Welsh than one might expect, having regard to their poetical and imaginative temperament, and the romantic traditions and charming scenery of their own country. Poetically they possess the power of interpreting nature, and of depicting landscape, and places, with their colour and their atmosphere in warm and vivid language; and this power appears to be rather generally diffused. But it does not find expression in art; and the appreciation of the beautiful is not so much in evidence on the æsthetic as on the poetic side of Welsh life.

Not only is it singular that a people so imaginative should be so inartistic, and so slow to perceive the useful in the beautiful; but that being so intellectual they should be so

really uncritical and so little affected by the spirit of free philosophical inquiry; that being possessed so strongly with the spirit of political reform they should be such jealous upholders of orthodoxy, and should have neither sufficient interest nor sufficient courage to question their own superstitions and theological beliefs; that being so musical they should thus far have been comparatively unproductive in the realm of creative music; that having been for so many generations under the dominion of theological ideas, they should not have contributed more to the science of theology; that being naturally of a metaphysical turn of mind, they should have nothing of any value, or in a concrete systematized form, to their credit in this sphere, or in that form of metaphysical inquiry which was formerly known as rational psychology.

As to the science of psychology, which, in a sense, supplies the indispensable introduction to so many philosophical disciplines, and which is closely connected with two problems that have so largely engrossed the Welsh mind, namely, the problem of ethics and of education, Wales appears to be an outcast.

There is no sign of any recognition of the place of psychology in the great fields of human interest and experience; though in the sphere, or spheres, covered by psychology—mental facts or mental consciousness—there is not a people, or a nation, that supplies a more varied material.

It seems to be one of the mysteries of nature that there is no apparent connection between the demand for genius in any of its forms and its appearance. By genius we do not mean the origination *de novo* of fresh elements, for that is impossible. One may look at genius from two sides; its inspirational and its so-called scientific side. By the former we mean the result, whether in the form of a new machine, or a new melody, or a new poem, which is achieved by inspiration, as we say, not by a consciously thought-out process. This latter is called the scientific use of the imagination, though both results are drawn in some way or other from the fund of individual experience.

Historically, the chief and most persistent characteristic feature of the Welsh mentality has been its introspectiveness.

For ages it has been looking inward, reflecting upon and admiring its own virtues and thoughts, and the moods peculiar to its own consciousness. True, of recent years it has been supplementing its introspection by objective observation, and there is growing evidence that it is interpreting the new facts not only in terms of its own knowledge, but in terms of its wider experience.

These are the two most fundamental methods of psychology —the inward and the outward look. Yet the Welsh do not appear to see the necessity, or the importance, of making the facts and experiences of their life the subjects of scientific reflection, and of systematizing them in a permanent and well-arranged form, so as to make them of scientific interest and value. In viewing the horizon of the Renaissance movement, we see no prospect of the appearance of a well-ordered psychological mind, capable of collecting these odds and ends, and setting them in a concrete, intelligent, and scientific array.

There never was a more curious mass of odds and ends in the life of any modern people. The Welsh have in the past sung war songs with as much ardour as they now sing hymns. They have been, even in recent years, seized with spasms of longing for eternal life; so much so, that whole congregations of them have broken out alternately into terrible crying and rejoicing; jumping up and down where they sat, and prostrating themselves in grief, as the preacher or the revivalist gave lurid details of the abode of the lost. With equal facility and earnestness have they transposed themselves into the domain of politics; such indeed has been their political intensity at times that a stranger might wonder whether they had ever taken, or would again take, any interest in anything else. What a soul there must be beyond and above all these psychical feelings of which they have been immediately conscious!

When we ventured to deal with the last Welsh Revival from a psychological point of view—the only attempt of the kind—the appreciations came from across the border, from England and Scotland, though the stress was laid at the time on its psychical characteristics. It does not seem even

now to occur to Welshmen to encourage the study, on scientific lines, of the various typical forms in which the personality of the nation has revealed, and continues to reveal, itself; neither is there any intelligent appreciation of the real psychical situation, especially as it affects education.

Psychology is related to actual educational procedure as theory is to practice. No system of education can be complete in these days unless it be connected with psychological observation. Education in Wales has been a series of experiments, and it is still very largely in the experimental stage. But whatever the method, the securing of the best and highest intellectual, social, and ethical results is not to be attained through blind experiment, and the continuous substitution of one method for another, but through a real knowledge of the human mental process. The teaching of psychology, and a knowledge of psychology, are of vital importance to the educational movement in Wales. Psychology is a science—the science of consciousness—and it is the function of science to systematize, describe, and explain the phenomena with which it deals. Education has to do with the development of the powers of the pupils or scholars, and much depends upon the means adopted for the cultivation or suppression of these powers. This is the great practical problem; and it can only be solved by the aid of psychology. To no field of national interest has its principles or method of procedure been applied; not even to the sphere in which, historically, the Welsh Renaissance movement has been more sharply defined; that is, religion and the search for divine truth.

There is now a movement to apply science and scientific conceptions to the development of industries. This is a distinct gain; for the rapidity with which industrial Wales has developed is phenomenal, and she has within her reach many of the most important minerals. Dr. Fisher, Minister of Education, who made a tour of Wales in October, 1917, said that at Swansea there were unrivalled opportunities for metallurgical research in the various metals; and most commendable efforts are now being made in that district to establish a technical institute, which will prove invaluable to Wales in the department of Metallurgy. So that now we

witness education in Wales working for the first time in a double atmosphere, that of general culture, and the atmosphere of technical research and original investigation. These parallel movements in the realm of education will give Wales the opportunity to prove her worth in practical affairs; and it will be interesting to see what contribution she can make towards the solution of scientific problems. If she will show, in this connection, some measure of the aptitude she has shown in the spread of general culture, she will go a long way towards redeeming herself from the position of inferiority in which she has hitherto been placed.

Legal science is not a study which has attracted the youth of Wales. The system of teaching and study has been more practical than theoretical, for the reason that it opens the way to office and a salary, and because it forms the best recommendation for political advancement. Law schools have now been opened in connection with the University Colleges, but they are as yet only in an elementary form. Law treatises are not literature, but it is instructive to find that such a highly argumentative and litigious people who have produced some distinguished lawyers, cannot say that their literature has been enriched by treatises on law or jurisprudence or constitutional history. Though the Church and State have for centuries been closely connected in Wales, canon law does not seem to have been an object of study, and at best it can only be said that there are but one or two living authorities in this department.

Wales can claim a national poetic literature of her own, though not such as would be calculated to excite the interest of the outside world. It would be hopeless to expect any general discussion of its merits when the reader is forced to deal in translations, for no translation, however good, can give a foreigner an idea of the music, quality, or atmosphere of the original; and the number of readers who are familiar with Welsh poetry in its original tongue is very limited. Unlike English and Scottish poetry, Welsh poetry has lacked the power of appealing to the world, and that for two reasons. First, because it has been written in a language known only to a few. Secondly, because the emotions which

it conveys are not those which lie close to the hearts of all men. The poetry of Shakespeare, Browning, Wordsworth, and Tennyson is English in outward form, but it enters into the common literature of all nations. Burns' poetry is Scottish in outward form, but its soul is world-wide, because it harmonizes with the common emotions of mankind. Welsh poetry and Welsh songs have not the same relation to human life, though they carry themselves right into the heart of Welsh patriotism; and they bring out very clearly the common taste, aspirations, and memories of Welshmen.

Indeed, great enthusiasm is often expressed for the older scenes of Welsh history, which are always viewed with feelings of excited patriotism. Much, if not most of what has been written, has been inspired by patriotic feeling; and the political ferments of pre-Reformation times seem to have produced a great quantity of verse of unequal merit; though there is much that was written at a time when the feelings it embodies were no longer seriously cherished, and which takes its origin from poetic sympathy rather than from serious politics.

Welsh poetry may be judged by its most singular examples at the opposite extremes, which would be manifestly unfair. If we desire to discover what has been most useful and inspiring to the Welsh people, or what has been most consoling and sustaining, we must look for it in what lies midway between the two extremes. It has been of service in that it has kept alive the interest of the people in spiritual subjects, fed their patriotic spirit, cultivated their literary tastes, and enlivened their habits of conviviality. While it may be said to be realistic in the sense that it stands very close to nature, it is not scientifically realistic; partly because it deals unduly with the stock-in-trade of Romanticism; partly because, in its endeavour to be realistic, its general tendency has been to pile on details to such an extent that so far from being real, it produces the effect of distorted exaggeration.

When the Welsh have wished to express themselves they have done so in their prose, verse, and music, not in a simple, balanced, scientific manner, but in a particularly exuberant and wildly tempestuous way. Yet they are, by nature, a

simple, homely people, and there is a good deal in their poetry that bears testimony to their kindliness, their religiosity, and their respect for their saintly dead. Indeed, it is the heart rather than the art of Wales that we discover in her poetry as well as in her music. The extraordinary quickness of apprehension on the part of the Welsh people comes from the emotion rather than from the intellect. In this respect the average Welshman is totally different from the corresponding Englishman. Perhaps we would not be far wrong in stating that the greatest contribution that Welsh poetry, both sacred and secular, has made is not to classic literature as such, but in that it has expressed the emotional power of the Cymric nature, both in its sad and joyous moods.

Its genius is highly domestic. This is not to say that it is tame, or wanting in the spirit of daring, or in imaginative or artistic qualities, but that it has, as if by a true instinctive feeling, made for subjects that admitted either of homely feeling, simple pathos, or familiar humour. Thus it is that so much of the poetry of Wales is of the elegiac type, which gives the effect of poignant poetical feeling, and that the lyric flashes of such Welsh geniuses as Ceiriog (the nineteenth-century Welsh lyric poet) have had such a hold upon the hearts of Welshmen. Wales has had a good many writers of song, which is one of the rarest and most difficult forms of poetry. It is very much in evidence in the nineteenth century, though much of its humour is of a coarse and flippant kind, and many of these lyric poets descended into mere ballad singers. But of Ceiriog it must be said that his notes were as free from vulgarity as they were stirring in spirit. The depth, simplicity, and directness of suggestion, which are the essence of true song, were qualities which were strong in his verse. It is this that gives him a leading place in the poetic literature of Wales.

It would be true to say of most of the poets of the nineteenth century, that the examination and elevation of public morals had more attraction for them than literary excellence, which gives them their outstanding merit. This was the culmination of the religious movement known as the "Methodist Revival," which greatly affected Welsh literature, especially

on its poetic side, and which gave the Welsh nation her greatest poetic works in the lyric, pastoral, epic, long poem, and ode. It explains why so many of the poets of this period were preachers.

Judged by whatever test we might wish to apply, this period must be considered as the most noteworthy and the most fruitful in the whole history of the Welsh Renaissance movement; it was really a great creative period. The difference between the literature of this period and the older form of literature is very marked, and shows clearly that it was a revival rather than the continuation of the older literature; and prose literature takes as worthy a place as does the poetic. It is in this period that Welsh poetry reached its perfection of form. It is the second landmark in the history of Welsh poetic literature, the first being that of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which were epochs of creation, brilliancy, and originality, and which gave Welsh poetic literature a higher standard of excellence than it had attained in previous centuries.

But the poetic is not the only species of literature which came into prominence during the latter part of the eighteenth and the greater part of the nineteenth century. There is the popular sermon which may be said to have formed the staple intellectual food of the Welsh nation during these interesting times. It kept alive the sense of right and wrong, and led to the spirit of inquiry in the domain of ethics and religion. This is a species of literature in which the Welsh genius has proved itself a great adept. During the last generation traces of decay in pulpit eloquence in Wales are plainly visible, though a high standard of general excellence is still maintained; but we miss the boldness, the familiarity of tone, the dramatic representation of truth, and the serious moral indignation which the preachers of the latter end of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century displayed. Nothing could give us stronger evidence of the moral and literary advancement of the nation than the power of the Welsh pulpit at this time, and if our admiration of it may seem to some to be somewhat excessive, surely it may be pardoned.

It should, and we think it will be, the proud boast of the Wales of the future that her publicists of this period, who played the rôle of poets, preachers, educationists, reformers, historians, memoir-writers, press-founders, and spade-workers in untrodden paths, gave a new tone to the poetry of Wales, clothed her prose literature with the spirit of romance, gave greater unity and vitality to her national life, fostered her passion for education, and prepared the soil for the planting of the new Renaissance seed which was to produce another kind of fruit. It would not be too much to say, that as the translation of the Bible in the sixteenth century was a preparation for the Renaissance of the eighteenth, so was the Renaissance of the eighteenth century a preparation for the Renaissance of the nineteenth and twentieth—classical and national in form.

It is during this period that we come to the philosophical aspect of the Welsh Renaissance. A good deal of philosophical ore, in its rough form, had been conveyed about the country, which now found a medium of expression in profound sermons. The distinguishing feature of this philosophy was its enthusiastic acceptance of the general truths of the Christian religion in their Protestant form. It directed its inquiries to things in their essence; in other words, to metaphysical questions. These are some of the marks that distinguish it from modern philosophy. Indeed, it may be said to have been more scholastic than modern. Its field of inquiry covered not only the distinctively Christian mysteries, such as the Trinity and the Incarnation, but the chief metaphysical questions, such as the existence of God. That it contributed to the quickening of intellectual activity, to the advancement of thought, to the endeavour to reconcile faith with reason, and to the expression of the Christian religion on the ground of human experience and emotion, there can be no doubt.

In taking stock of the various points we have canvassed in this broad though imperfect survey of the Renaissance movement in Wales, what are the outstanding facts? First, that the Tudor monarchs found an exhausted people, small in number, living on a few ideas, without the means of secular instruction,

and who had not acquired the power of possessing the Word of God in their own tongue, or of hearing it read. Yet a people not only needing civilization, but capable of being civilized, and of assimilating the higher forms of culture; a people possessing some of the best attributes of humanity. Of this there can be no question, for we can tell it, as we can tell the individuality of unknown parents through the peculiarities of their children. This is the light that shines in the background of the Renaissance movement: that there were vigorous and extensive roots to nourish from below, a highly intelligent and progressive community; that there was a soil, though it had lain fallow for so many generations, favourable for the reception of the Renaissance seed.

Hence it is that under the impulse of the Reformation and the new social and political order, we witness the forces of religion, education, and national culture gradually arising, developing themselves, acting upon each other and upon the general movement of society, diffusing more and more of the light of knowledge, coalescing discordant elements, keeping up a national pugnacity of character upon which a heavy demand was to be made in later years; with the result that a new type of civilization begins to build itself up slowly and synthetically, moving now forward, now backward, now obliquely, yet, on the whole, onward; gathering strength and consistency as it goes along; bringing Wales out of the chaos which had brooded over her for centuries; her people vieing with each other in the pursuit of knowledge, industry, musical delight, oratory, and classical culture; overstepping the bounds of their own language and literature and inquiring into the literary works of other lands; enlarging the circle of their own ideas, and gradually exchanging ideas with other nations; ceasing, though slowly, to think provincially, and on purely denominational or theological lines; augmenting their intellectual output, so that the influence of Wales upon British national life is greater to-day than ever, and not only greater but daily increasing.

Secondly, that strongly as education has felt the onward movement of the country and the times, the deepest part of the nation's life has been, and still is, its religion. This is

the atmosphere in which it has lived and moved and had its being. Some of the most singular and most attractive qualities of the people have been evolved from their religious mysticism. By this is meant the transcendent common sense which recognizes a Divine order of things, and the reality of an invisible world. Mystical faith in that which existed once, and mystical hope and joy in all that may exist hereafter—the new and unknown—these have always been characteristics of the human race; they have been the characteristics of the Welsh. Through their mystical faith they have not only perceived, but actually realized, another world, and have worked wonders for themselves. No modern doubt, no deduction from the facts of science, has shaken this faith. Their whole life reveals the constancy and earnestness with which their thoughts have been occupied with the subject of religion, with the relation of the individual to God, which to them is still the most serious fact in life, as well as the most practical.

Any picture of the Renaissance of Wales which failed to give a strong idea of this would be like Hamlet with the prince left out. In truth, their religion has been the cause rather than the effect of their advancement; and one of the most encouraging features in connection with the Welsh Renaissance movement is that it has kept in close touch with spiritual realities. This is all the more consoling in view of the spread of a materialistic industrialism which seems to be the signal for the outbreak of an interminable series of civil commotions; which does not appear to be founded on any abstract intelligent principle, except that of brute force, or of numbers against reason, and which tends to suppress rather than to foster the spirit of individual liberty.

Thirdly, that we are confronted at every stage in the progress of the Renaissance movement with the one indubitable fact that the very core of the psychical life of Wales, around which are gathered all her joys and miseries, all her hopes and expectations, is the growing consciousness of her selfhood. In spite of the fitful gleams of light which seem at times to taper off, even to cease wholly; in spite of the conflicting ideals which seem to show that Wales is still far from being united on matters vital to her highest interests, so vivid and

intelligent is the consciousness of selfhood, and the belief in future possibilities, that the stream of tendency is towards the systematic unification of its experiences, with the result that it is seeking to find, and succeeding in finding, new imaginative affinities; that it is perpetually adapting and re-adapting its moral and mental materials to greater consistency with social necessities, and with the necessities of human thought; that it is seeing with clearer eyes into the world outside itself, and turning the new vision to new accounts for its own higher purposes, and for the maximum possible good to the community as a whole.

Whether the natural law, that precocious growths are always less hardy than those that mature more slowly, will be exemplified in the case of Wales, remains to be seen; but of one thing we are certain, the growth, late as it is in comparison with England and Scotland, will be all the more solid and productive if the Renaissance is allowed to go hand in hand with the forces that make for common unity. It would be an infinite pity if this growing power of assimilating the sap of classical culture, and the many-sided elements of modern civilization, which has undoubtedly entered the Welsh system, were neutralized or enervated by a spurious nationalism, or by considerations purely racial and political. It is not on such lines that Wales can hope to keep and to elevate the standard of classical excellence.

So rapid and widespread has been the progress, that many ardent Welshmen have fallen into the error of regarding it as an exclusively Welsh and a latter-day product. But it must be obvious to any impartial student of the Renaissance movement in Wales that the process of enfranchisement and enlightenment has been due to the combined influence of non-Celtic and Celtic influences.

When we study the history of elementary education in Wales, and the first period of literary activity in the sixteenth century, it is astonishing to note the number of English names we find connected with it. The foreign element has also projected itself into the movement for higher education in Wales with considerable advantage. As in education, so in the history of special legislation for Wales; in the founding of the English

press in Wales; in the development of the religious life of Wales both Anglican and Nonconformist; in the industrial development in Wales; and even in the cultivation of the national spirit. It was in 1128 that the Cistercian Order came over from France; and had the Cistercian monks never come, it is probable that the Wales of to-day would have resembled the adjoining counties of Salop and Hereford. In the art of cultivating the Welsh spirit, the Cistercian monks were more Welsh than the Welsh themselves; it was they who succeeded in winning over the Welsh to the Latin Church; they took the part of the Welsh chiefs against the King, and became the advisers of the natives in their struggles against England.

Everything points to the fact that as Wales did not initiate her own Renaissance alone and single-handed, she cannot consistently with her best and highest interests complete it alone and single-handed. The greatest service that Wales can now render to the cause of her own civilization, and to her own intellectual advancement, is to try to weld conflicting forces into a harmonious whole. If the latest, may this be the most fruitful blossom of the Renaissance movement. The way of unity is to come by considering the interests that are common, and by allowing the principle of association to do its perfect work. This would be another step, and a wider one, into the ever-expanding stream of Welsh history and development.

CHAPTER III

THE PLACE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHURCH IN THE EDUCATIONAL RENAISSANCE OF WALES: ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In the preceding chapter we have endeavoured to trace, though briefly and for the purpose of this work, some of the primary constituent factors in the religious, literary, and intellectual reorganization of Wales; the factors that supply us with the background of what is best in the character and culture of the people of Wales to-day. Now that the Church has been illegitimized by the State, it becomes a question of high importance to consider the place which it occupies in relation to this Renaissance movement. To be of value, the Church's contribution should be outlined with complete objectivity and impartiality; and should not in any way be tainted by sectarian prejudices or by theological prepossessions. We are not affected by the bias of hostility, or friendship, or indifference; but we *are* affected by sympathy, and it is through the eyes of sympathy that the revelation of spiritual value comes.

It is but natural to suppose that a blast of wistful sadness should pass over the minds of Churchmen at this period, for the crisis touches them closely; not only in a material, but in a domestic and a spiritual sense. It is possible that in contemplating what is taking place around them at this present juncture, as well as the possibilities of the immediate future, they may neglect those sources of strength and inspiration which the history of their Church supplies. Though the official link which connected the Church with the State is practically broken; and though there is great fear that that part of the Act which relates to endowments may, in spite of all that has happened, be put in force, no Act of Parliament can deprive the Church of its spiritual and literary heritage; or of its

principles, for they are permanent; they, therefore, abide. There also abides the memory of the many types of personalities that have adorned and enriched its life; seers whose gift of vision and insight stood out against the unbelieving tendencies of the times; scholars and thinkers who loomed out boldly from the mass of uneducated men; leaders who took a generous share in the work of spiritual and ethical elevation; preachers of fiery impulses, endowed with the gift of expression and persuasion, who diverted the religious fervour of their countrymen into useful channels.

True, the Church is not closely connected in popular thought with the Renaissance movement in Wales. There appears to have been a conjunction of circumstances which account for the fact that the significance of the Church in this regard has become, in recent times, more and more contestable. In truth, when a purely historical foundation for the Renaissance movement has been sought, there has been an increasing tendency to leave the Church out of the account, partly because of the sentiment that its devotion to itself has been more transcendently and transparently sincere than its devotion to the welfare of the community as a whole, towards the attainment of which it is, or should be, an instrument; that it has traditionally been unfriendly to social and intellectual movements which make for mental independence.

We have dealt in our first chapter with some of the underlying causes which have produced this sentiment, or conviction; but there are other causes. Welsh Nationalist historians, in their eagerness to show that it was with the advent of Welsh Nonconformity that the blessings of education and the higher arts of civilization were introduced into Wales, have failed to do justice to the extraordinarily strong religious, literary, and metaphysical foundation which the Church has contributed to the Renaissance movement in Wales, with the result that an unreflecting generation, that seems to have read nothing beyond the days of Howell Harris (1714–1773), has allowed itself to be led into believing that the Church has but very little to its credit; whereas, not only has the Church exercised no inconsiderable influence upon

the higher civilization of Wales, but even its claim to be its ancestor is really incontestable.

Undoubtedly, the intervention of Nonconformity, with its democratic tendencies and its politico-religious institutions, has had much to do with the popular belief that the Church has had no organic or spiritual relation with the many factors that have contributed to the intellectual progress of Wales, and to the principle of nationality. Nonconformity has been at all times engaged in opposing what may be called ecclesiastical, or Church civilization; substituting for it ideals of civilization that are non-ecclesiastical; ideals having their source in the collective will, rather than in tradition or Church authority. It has also been teaching a religion of personal conviction and conscience in opposition to a religion based on the Prayer-book, with the result that it has succeeded in a large measure in creating popular prejudices against those tendencies of civilization and religion which the Church has traditionally taught, as being destructive of vigorous individuality, and of the highest educational interest of the nation.

It has been engaged in forcing upon the State the theory that what is called religious education is, more often than not, only a preparation for scepticism; that the teaching of the truths of the Christian faith demands, especially to boys, the most highly trained, scholarly, and philosophical intellect; that such teaching should be given in the churches and in the homes, not in the schools supported by the State; that the presence and influence of the clergy in the day schools has been detrimental to the true interests of education.

There has also been the mechanical pressure exercised by public opinion through the extension of the jurisdiction of the State, which has led to the limitation of the function and power of the Church, especially in the sphere of education. The State has been forcing the recognition of a natural ethical worth, properly belonging to itself, and needing no ecclesiastical control or sanction; a policy which has been powerfully furthered by the rise of political forces which have encouraged the State to set before it the widest civilizing aims, by taking into its hands the care of moral order and ethical well-being;

and by separating civilization from the influence and control of the Church; so that we have seen, in Wales as elsewhere, the gradual substitution of secular for clerical influence, and of the restraints of public opinion for ecclesiastical authority, notably in the sphere of popular education.

It is here where the Church has come into conflict with the State and with public opinion, for the reason that the Church considers that the State has been introducing a lower for its own higher law of morality, by insisting that primary education should be given on secular lines. For the same reason it has come into collision with the State on the question of marriage, for the State has come to treat it as a civil contract. That the Church's view of marriage has raised the standard of family life there can be no doubt; it was the conception of marriage taught by the Church that the State adopted as its marriage law; and from the time that England became a nation until 1857 there was only one marriage law —the law of the Church accepted by the State. The first break came in 1857 when the Divorce Act was passed; the second when the Deceased Wife's Sister Act was enacted.

The controversy between the State and the Church over the question of religious education has given rise to the popular belief that the Church is opposed to any and every system of education that is not directed by itself. But it would be more generous to suppose that the desire of the Church has been and is, that religion and education should go hand in hand; and it may be said that recent events seem to justify the soundness of the Church's position. There is surely some truth in what the Church states when it contends that education without moral training or religious instruction is only putting weapons into the hands of criminals, and that to enlarge the mental horizon of the youth of the nation, without at the same time seeking to form and direct their character, is only to increase misery and unrest. That this conflict between the Church and the State has had the result of lessening the hold of the Church on the popular mind, and of limiting its sphere of influence, there can be no question. It has made it impossible to sustain a Church-directed civilization; it has even minimized in popular esteem the value of

the Church's contribution to the cause of education, so that the Church is not in these times closely associated with the Renaissance movement in Wales on its educational and national side. While the efforts of nationalist politicians have been extravagantly over-praised, the efforts of the Church in the past have been unjustly under-rated, which goes to show that the public of to-day does not, any more than the public of any other time, live by logical consistency, and that it does not appear to be able to appreciate the fact that spiritual and educational forces that were set in motion in generations past continue to exercise a beneficial influence on national welfare, even when their sphere of activity is restricted, or when they are avowedly opposed by hostile influences.

While it must be conceded that the Church has made a less impression in some departments of thought, and a less impression on national life, than its opportunities and its gifts of intellect and character have warranted, there is evidence that it has made a far deeper and more abiding impression upon the higher civilization of Wales than is commonly supposed. Indeed, without a fairly clear understanding of the part played by the Church, the advancement of Wales in the higher elements of civilization becomes unintelligible, if only for the reason that it was, in its primary stages at any rate, a Church-directed civilization, initiated by patriotic Churchmen and sustained from Church resources.

This takes us back to the Elizabethan age, an age which presents the Church from a lofty ground of vantage; for its many-sided activities, during that and subsequent periods, constitute the basis of the educational, literary, and religious development of Wales. It was the age of Dr. William Morgan, through whose meritorious labours, assisted by other clergymen, the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer were translated into the vernacular tongue. It was the age of Dr. Richard Davies, the then Bishop of St. David's, and of William Salesbury, whose combined efforts made the task of Dr. William Morgan possible. As Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, in his "History of the Gwydir Family," p. 96, says: "He (Dr. Morgan) had the benefit and help of Bishop Davies and

William Salesbury's work, who had done a great part thereof, yet he covered the name of all."

William Salesbury, who was of Norman descent on his father's side and of Welsh descent on his mother's, was a truly great scholar. He was conversant with nine languages, besides English and Welsh; and he did as much for the language as for the religion of Wales. His translation of the New Testament was published in 1567, five years after Elizabeth's Act was passed. It was an instalment, and a very substantial instalment, of the complete translation which was in hand. Salesbury had, as far back as 1546, urged the people of Wales to petition the King and his Council for the Scriptures in Welsh, which were then in circulation in England, and had already been translated into thirty-two languages.

There are no records to show how many copies of the Welsh Bible by Dr. Morgan were printed; probably about a thousand; for there were then, roughly speaking, about a thousand parish churches; it was provided in the Act that copies of the Welsh Bible and Prayer-book, also copies of an English Bible and of an English Prayer-book, were to be kept in every parish throughout Wales. They were "to remain in such convenient places within the said churches, that such as understand them may resort at all convenient times to read and peruse the same; and also such as do not understand the said language may, by conferring both tongues together, the sooner attain to the knowledge of the English tongue, anything in the Act to the contrary notwithstanding" (Eliz. 5, chap. viii.).

As to the somewhat ungenerous criticism, that the country had to wait twenty-one years for the Bible on account of the "hostility and incompetence of the bishops," the truth is, the people had only to wait for the *Old Testament* with the Apocrypha, until the version of Bishop Morgan was ready in 1588. There was neither hostility nor incompetency. Indeed, if such translation had been ordered by King George V. instead of by Queen Elizabeth, the probability is that it would not be forthcoming through want of competency. Wales has never possessed such a group of great scholars as she possessed in the age of Queen Elizabeth.

The difficulties in the way of these translations were very great. Provision was made out of the public funds for the translation of the English Bible; but in the case of Wales, the Acts stipulated that the cost of printing should be borne equally between parson and parishioners; not solely by the bishops, as is commonly supposed. The five bishops appointed to supervise the work had their hands full, for some of the dioceses were very much out of order. Also, the work had to be set up by Englishmen who did not understand a word of Welsh, and the time consumed in correcting mistakes must have been very considerable. In addition to this, the inhabitants of the towns in Wales at that time were English-speaking, and there were large districts that were wholly English. They did not want the Welsh Bible foisted on them. Then, it was not believed that Latin was going to die out as a language of culture; and languages, as such, were not regarded with any veneration in the sixteenth century.

In considering some of the difficulties which confronted the Welsh translators, we are forcibly reminded of the conditions under which Luther laboured while translating the New Testament into German. Among the many dialectical forms of German in his time there was no recognized standard; in fact, there was no German language. He took as the foundation of his work the Saxon dialect, as the speech of his childhood and the familiar language of the Elector's court; this he enriched with the best words of the dialects, with the result that his work fixed the literary standard of the language in which it was written. So with the Welsh translators; among the many dialectical forms of Welsh in the Elizabethan age there was no recognized standard that the translators could adopt. In view of the peculiar condition of that primitive stage of Welsh prose, the difference between the spoken and literary form, and the different forms used in the North and South of Wales, Salesbury found it necessary to put the spoken form in Black Letter and the literary in Roman type; and he placed in the margin corresponding, if not always simpler, words to make the meaning clear. Of the five thousand five hundred words given in

Salesbury's Dictionary, it has been calculated that one thousand two hundred bear the marks of comparatively recent introduction from the prevailing speech of the English people. Salesbury was compelled to introduce foreign words in consequence of the extent to which such words had already been introduced by the Welsh Bards, and other writers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; not only as to technical but also as to other matters. This was more marked in the South of Wales than in the North. By so doing Salesbury greatly enriched the Welsh vocabulary, and added to its fulness and flexibility.

Unlike the translation of Luther, "who made the prophets speak German," and who took endless pains to make his Bible "understanded of the people," by adopting the words that they used in the home, the shops, and on the street, so that it did not belong to the learned alone but to the commonalty, the Bible of William Morgan was more for the parson than for the people. It was not at first understood of the commonalty, because of the bookish and Hebraic idioms introduced when translating. This is not to detract from the honour due to Dr. William Morgan, or to diminish the value of his version; but we desire to emphasize that, as Melancthon was indispensable to Luther in his version of the Scriptures in German, so was Salesbury indispensable to Bishop Morgan. Without Salesbury and Bishop Richard Davies, Bishop Morgan's achievement would have been impossible. Just as the German Bible and the English Bible are the result of revisions, so is the Welsh Bible. Several revised and improved editions have been published; the one published in 1620 by Dr. Richard Parry (1560–1623), Bishop of St. Asaph, being the standard version. As Luther's version became a German classic, or rather *the* German classic, and was accepted as the type of literary German, so has the Welsh Bible become the standard of literary Welsh in Wales; it has had a formative and permanent influence on the Welsh language that no other book has ever approached. It still remains the first classic of Welsh literature.

If the Church had made no other contribution to the language and literature of Wales than that of the translation

into Welsh of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, it would have justified its existence. This achievement laid the foundation of the Renaissance in Wales; without it the Renaissance would have been impossible, as the Reformation of the sixteenth century would have been impossible without the translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue. It was the foreshadowing of the Renaissance, the preparation for it, rather than the Renaissance itself. This alone effectively disposes of the contention that it has been the settled policy of the Church in Wales to stamp out the Welsh language, and to suppress the cultivation of purely native literature. Were it not for the translation which was consecrated to the service of the Church and of the nation, the fate of the Welsh language would, in all human probability, have been the same as that of the old Cornish. No literature of any value was produced in the old Cornish. The Bible and the Book of Common Prayer were not translated into it; neither was it introduced into the service of the sanctuary, so that its existence is a mere tradition in Cornwall to-day.

There is another important fact that must be taken into consideration in estimating the value of the translation of the Bible into Welsh. The translators were not only scholars, systematic thinkers, philologists, theologians; men possessed of a philosophical mind and a thorough knowledge of Welsh; they had other and equally indispensable qualifications. Beyond their literary and scholastic gifts, they derived their disposition from the Bible which they translated, and placed in the hands of the people. No men have since penetrated more deeply into its real spirit. A good translation demands not only a master of words and a scholar, but it also demands, as Luther said, "a truly devout, faithful, diligent Christian, learned, experienced heart." It is only to those who approach the Scriptures with such a heart that they reveal their innermost meaning. The Welsh translators, however high their intellectual attainments, could not have given the Welsh a Bible of such inexhaustible freshness, which has done so much for the cultivation of social order, good will, and moral power, if they had not had the aid of the indwelling Spirit of God.

Truly, they were the prophetic and apostolic men who laid the foundation of modern Welsh civilization, which has given Wales her crown and glory; that is, her religious character, the noblest of all the possessions of any nation. The life which they called up still survives. We find traces of it in the spiritual exercises of the people; in the conscience of their society; in their national characteristics; in the sublimity of their hymnody; in their conception of God's infinity and eternity; in the zeal and eloquence of their preachers, for it is the Bible that called forth and nourished their genius. In no other land has the Bible, in the past, been more widely read and honoured; and of no other nation can it be said that the texture of its thought has been more vividly and largely imbued with its mysticism and idealism.

We find abiding traces of the life which the translators generated in the spirit that embalms the literature of the Welsh people, and in absence from that literature of the taint of infidelity and licentiousness. They made the modern literature of Wales. By this we mean they made the mind of the Welsh people, created their spirit, their thought, and their whole innermost life; they gave the Welshman a soul and made him anew. We can hardly say how much the Bible has done for the nation; and we can, therefore, hardly say how much the nation is indebted to the Church that conferred this blessing upon it. Surely, if we find in the history of the Church great and grievous faults, we find also great and growing virtues, for which Wales and Welshmen everywhere would do well to hold it in honour and grateful remembrance.

Having prepared the Bible for the people, the Church proceeded to prepare the people for the Bible by teaching them to look upon it as the one infallible authority in matters religious, and by encouraging the humblest peasant to read and consult it for himself; thus cultivating both his faith and his reason; for it is the function of faith reverently to accept the Bible as the Word of God, and the function of reason to interpret that word. This was no idle thing to do, for the art of reading was practically unknown among the masses of the people in those days, and learning was confined

to a few. Happily, there are definite facts and statistics which enable us to see how the Bible became an open book; how generally its light was diffused; how it continually assumed greater importance in the eyes of the people, and how they appreciated the fact that the Word of God had been presented to them.

The men who first circulated and taught the Bible to the children, and to the plain people of the land, were as peculiarly adapted for the undertaking as were the men who translated it; and it is to their credit that they harmonized the historic continuity of the Church with the education of the people and the purification of religion. Churchmen they were almost to a man; and the societies with which they were connected were Church societies. Nevertheless, our reading of the movement is, that their primary consideration was the most effective way in which the truths and doctrines of the Bible, as they understood them, could be explained to their contemporaries. Their mission was to cause the leaven of the Bible to work by planting its thoughts in the minds of the people, its purposes and inspirations in their hearts. The avidity with which even the children learned to read it shows that the means adopted were as wise and as effective as the condition of the times and the material available warranted.

It has been made a criticism that the Rev. Thomas Gouge, an English clergyman who, in the year 1674, devoted his energies to this purpose, caused the instruction to be imparted chiefly in English, notwithstanding that there were as many as 1830 Welsh children in the 130 charity schools which he and his co-workers founded. But where was Gouge to find Welsh teachers? Even to-day, two hundred and thirty-seven years after his death, Wales is faced with the problem of finding masters and mistresses capable of teaching Welsh, especially grammatically, in elementary schools. It is only by making Welsh compulsory, and compulsory for English children who do not wish to be taught it, that any interest in it is taken, and that interest is ephemeral.

Being a practical man, Gouge only attempted what he thought he was capable of doing, and what was possible

with the materials at hand. Although he possessed a University licence which was good for the whole kingdom, he had some difficulties with the then Bishop of Llandaff, who, in fact, excommunicated him. At a later period, however, Gouge obtained a licence from the Welsh bishops to preach. Wales had no greater friend at that period than Gouge. It is to the period which he represented that we are to look for the earliest waves of the present educational current in Wales. His object was to foster among the Welsh a taste for reading Welsh books, to teach them to read, write, and cast up accounts, and to disseminate knowledge among the commonalty. With this object in view he spent his own money, raised subscriptions, bought and distributed thousands of books, and placed as many copies of the Welsh Bible in the hands of the Welsh people as his resources permitted. According to the funeral sermon on Gouge by Dr. Tillotson, first Dean and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and King William and Queen Mary's favourite divine, there were every year over eight hundred, sometimes a thousand, poor children educated. Unquestionably the year 1674, which marks the formation by Churchmen in London of a voluntary society for the purpose of founding and maintaining schools in Wales, and of giving the people a knowledge of religion, with Gouge as its representative, is an epoch in the Renaissance of Wales. Gouge died in 1680.

The voluntary society which Gouge represented had but a comparatively brief existence. Another society, however, was founded in 1698, called "The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge"; that was eighteen years after the death of Gouge. There were three Welshmen, members of the committee—Sir John Philipps, Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire; Sir Humphrey Mackworth, and Dr. John Evans, Bishop of Bangor. By the end of 1701 the society had extended its operations into every county in Wales, and English and Welsh charity schools had been established throughout the length and breadth of the land; the clergy and laity of the Church being the most active and prominent participators in the movement. There was also the establishment of Dr. Bray's libraries in all parts of Wales, which

contained collections of the best available literature bearing on theology and kindred subjects. They were of great service to the poorer section of the clergy. Two large editions of the Welsh Bible were published and sold at a price which came within the reach of the masses.

The Rev. Griffith Jones of Llanddowror (1683–1761), who took up the work about fifty years after the days of Gouge, was a Welshman. With the help of Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle, and Madam Bevan, of Laugharne, he established Welsh Circulating Schools. From 1737 to 1760, as many as 3185 were founded, at which 150,213 persons, young and old, were taught to read and understand the Welsh Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Church Catechism. After his death, in 1761, up to 1779, when Madam Bevan died, these schools increased to 3280, and the scholars to 163,835. Griffith Jones worked in connection with the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," but he himself wrote some small manuals in English and Welsh. His knowledge of medicine, though scanty, served him and the movement in good stead, for the reason that he was able to dispense gratuitously to the poorer class among his parishioners.

It is supposed by Welshmen in general that the early movement for popular education in Wales, and to bring the people to a knowledge of religion, was primarily the work of Griffith Jones. It is right that Welshmen should bestow honour on his name, for he was one of the great personalities of Wales in the Georgian period, and the Renaissance movement cannot be properly estimated apart from his life and work. He was educated at the Grammar School at Carmarthen, which was founded in 1576 by letters patent from Queen Elizabeth; it was in this school that Peter Williams, Howell Harris, and David Jones of Llangau were trained. Griffith Jones received the order of deacon on September 14, 1718; the order of priest, September 2, 1719, at the hands of Bishop Bull. He was summoned to preach before Queen Anne, and was invited to preach in Scotland. His appearance at Welsh festivals, when the Welsh people attended in great numbers for recreation—festivals which generally developed

into riotous and profligate proceedings—proved a great blessing. Realizing the comparative uselessness of preaching, he encouraged the catechistical form of teaching, a custom which has prevailed in Wales, both in the Church and in Nonconformity, for many generations, though it is not observed to the same extent as in former years. He himself composed and issued from the press works in the form of tracts, sermons, and letters, and expositions of the Catechism. Through his instrumentality several editions of the Welsh Bible were published by the Christian Knowledge Society, which gave him generous aid. He opened night schools for the benefit of those adults who could only devote their evenings to the purposes of self-instruction. Such of the schoolmasters as he selected, who needed training, he trained himself, grounding them well in Scriptures, the Catechism, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Psalms, widening the curriculum by including in his educational scheme writing, cyphering, history, and geography. His ambition was that every parish should be supplied with a knowledge of religion, and with the means of elementary education. After an interval, the masters of his schools would revisit the districts from whence they started, and resume their course of instruction.

But great as were the services of Griffith Jones, they cannot be understood apart from the labours of Thomas Gouge. In view of all the facts, it is too much to attribute to him such special sanctity as is being done by those who are not acquainted with all the factors that have contributed to the growth of the movement with which we are now dealing. The records of the "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge" show clearly that there was a free school at Llanddowror, before Griffith Jones went there in 1716; they also establish the fact that the Communion offerings in many of the Welsh churches were given to charity schools before the year 1730, when Griffith Jones first commenced his circulating schools. It should also be stated that apart from the labours of Gouge, the movement with which Griffith Jones was connected had enlisted the sympathy of the Welsh Puritans as far back as 1649–60; that is, about twenty-five

years before Thomas Gouge came on the scene ; though there does not seem to be evidence of any organized movement among the Welsh Puritans, such as that of which Gouge and Griffith Jones were the central figures.

These Welsh circulating schools were really National Schools ; they were conducted on the same principle as those of the "National Society for educating the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England," which was founded in 1811. National Schools are so named for the reason that they were established on the principles of that Society, and were aided by its funds; the principle being that there can be no proper education without religious teaching, which means that the training of character is an essential part of education.

It is a simple matter of historical fact and certainty, that for practically a whole century, these circulating schools, or Church schools, constituted the whole provision for the elementary education of the people. There were schools situated in the towns—Grammar Schools—which existed as early as the sixteenth century ; but they did not appeal to the Welsh-speaking section of the population, who were practically confined to the country districts ; and they were closed, as were the English Universities, to the sons of Nonconformists on account of the imposition of religious tests. The class of pupils attracted to these schools were the sons of town burgesses, who were more English than Welsh, and the sons of landowners of limited means.

It has been said that the esteem in which education is held among any people may be accurately computed from the pay that is given to the teachers. The salary paid to the masters in these circulating charity schools, founded by Griffith Jones, was about £30 a year, sometimes it was as low as £20. But this was due, partly to the inadequacy of funds ; partly to the difficulty of finding competent teachers. But inefficient as they were when judged by the standard of to-day, and modest as they were in their aims, they conferred an inestimable blessing upon Wales. No one who is acquainted with the background of the present educational

movement would be disposed to dispute the healthy influence which they exercised.

They reveal the fact that in a country where civilization was at a very low ebb, there were people who, though ignorant and often debased, were intelligent and responsive, capable of being educated and regenerated. Nothing could be more touching, if amusing, than a perusal of the reports of the examinations which the inspectors conducted in the early Welsh schools. Some of them have left it on record that it was one of the supreme pleasures of their life to witness the eagerness and brightness on the face of the children during these examinations; the expression being something akin to the expression of a tourist at the sudden revelation of some beauty of nature, or the first view of some beautiful picture.

Between the Georgian and the Victorian period the movement in connection with elementary education does not appear to have been represented by any outstanding personalities like Griffith Jones or Gouge. Not that the Church had, at any time, suspended her interest in the education of the poor; what interest that existed was due entirely to the zeal and charity of its ministers and lay members. But it is interesting to note that between the translation of the Bible by Dr. William Morgan and the appearance of the Rev. Thomas Gouge there is a gap of about eighty-six years. Between the death of Gouge and the time that Griffith Jones took up the work there is a gap of fifty years. Between the death of Griffith Jones and the appearance of Bishop Thirlwall of St. David's and Bishop Short of St. Asaph there is a gap of about eighty years. Dean Cotton of Bangor, it is true, preceded both these distinguished men; he was made Vicar of Bangor in 1810. So that for a period of two hundred and fifty-nine years from the date of the translation of the Bible into Welsh down to 1847, when the question of elementary education became a matter of urgent public interest in the Principality, we find only one leading Welshman—Griffith Jones—represented in the movement.

In order to estimate properly the work done by Bishop Thirlwall, Bishop Short, and Dean Cotton, in their epoch-making

meaning, as regards the educational and spiritual development of Wales, it is necessary to study their work in the light of the social and economic condition of the times. The Welsh peasantry were very poor, their earnings being barely sufficient to enable them to subsist; their dwellings were, in the great majority of cases, mere hovels. The clergy, as a body, were very impecunious, and heavily burdened in many ways. Yet they were deeply concerned in the religious and educational interests of the people. The landowners, on the other hand, were sordid and apathetic; many of them were absentees, and took no interest in the social well-being of the tenantry or their children. Social amenities were disturbed through two discordant languages and sectarian disputations. Many of the parishes were totally unprovided with schools of any kind.

"Imagine," says Dean Cotton (1780–1862) in his pamphlet in defence of Welsh Elementary Schools, "a case in some obscure country school, amidst the mountains of Wales: a school situated in a parish in length twelve miles, in breadth two; or another embracing within its boundaries 30,000 acres, more extensive but more compact! (for such parishes there are); in such cases, 'the children of the mist,' are often 'mist' when they should be present. Can you wonder, sir, that the Atlantic, borne upon the wings of the wind, and bearing down upon the huts of David Davies and John Jones, for six, sometimes twelve, and even eighteen hours together, should deter those persons from sending their children two, three, or even four miles, to meet the pelting of the pitiless storm, this 'drwg hin,' or 'dryc hin' (which you may translate ducking) with no umbrella in hand, no house by the way, with no living object, either animal or vegetable, to console them, save a bush not big enough to hide a bird, or a patient cow, with her tail turned to the tempest, or the lowly sheep sheltering under the protection of a shelving stone: or some bad bent birch brooms, few and far between, the 'counterfeit presentment' of would-be wood, to stand or sit all day in his wet clothes, with his bread and butter in his pocket, reduced to pudding, or to puddle, or to pulp! Or again, suppose the weather is bright, has the poor cottager

or the little farmer, who is, indeed, little more than a cottager, nothing to do which renders the assistance of his children necessary?"

Dean Cotton was largely aided in his work by the funds from the National Society; and by Madam Bevan's Charity, which ceased to be available in 1779, pending a Chancery suit, but which once more came into full operation in 1809, and has continued so ever since, yielding an annual income of a little over £900. It is being worked under a scheme, embodied in an order of the Lord Chancellor, in conformity with the conditions of the original Trust.

The period covered by Dean Cotton was a period when many public men entertained objections to the instruction of the poor and ignorant on the ground that too much education was not good for the masses, and that infant schools encouraged social discontent and early marriages. But Dean Cotton not only believed in the education of the masses, but that there could be no education in the full and proper sense of the word that was not based upon a religious principle, with definite religious instruction. Yet he never used his personal influence, or perverted the schools that he established, for any sectarian purposes. A large number of Nonconformist children were educated in his and in other Church schools; there were no other schools which many of them could attend. One of the most distinguished of his pupils was the late Rev. Owen Thomas, D.D., of Liverpool, the eminent Welsh Methodist minister. Dean Cotton was the prime mover in the founding of the Training College, near Carnarvon, in 1846. Since the date of its foundation to the present day, the number of teachers trained in this college is over 1000. Many of his scholars became distinguished clergymen after a successful career at the English Universities and colleges of the Church of England. In 1894 the college was removed to Bangor.

Bishop Thirlwall (1797–1875), who took up his work in the diocese of St. David's in 1840, was declared by Gladstone to be "one of the most masculine, powerful, and luminous intellects that had for generations been known among the bishops of England." Thirlwall was, undoubtedly, one of

the greatest intelligences in Europe; an expert not only in theology and in the Greek and Hebrew languages, but in logic, history, and philosophy; though it would, perhaps, be correct to say that with the exception of his history of Greece, he left no monument worthy of his great intellect, learning, and erudition. He accomplished great work during the thirty-four years he held the See of St. David's; but he presents a large field for criticism, for he was an "alien" in more senses than one. It stands to his credit that he learned the Welsh language, for probably three-fifths of the inhabitants of his diocese were Welsh, the majority being monoglots. However, his knowledge of Welsh was more academic than practical, more ornamental than useful. The language never became his own, and he never assimilated its spirit. In matters affecting Church and State he was a staunch Liberal of the orthodox Whig denomination, as may be seen from his defence of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church; he carried his liberalism into the domain of theology and Church administration. He, unfortunately, committed the same mistake as most of the Englishmen who were appointed to Welsh sees, in that he brought with him into Wales English conceptions of methods of public worship, and forced them upon an unwilling clergy and upon unwilling parishioners; and that in spite of his knowledge of the great diversity between the habits and temperaments and ideals of Churchmen in Wales and Churchmen in England.

But it is with Bishop Thirlwall as an educationist that we have to do in this connection; and there is much that stands to his credit, as may be seen from the record of the many new schools that he was chiefly instrumental in establishing in the various parishes of his diocese; and from the record of the Training College of Carmarthen, which he opened in 1848. No better proof of his sincerity could be found than in his own generosity, for he devoted the sum of £40,000, during his episcopate, to the founding of schools, the augmentation of poor benefices, the building and rebuilding of churches, the restoration of the cathedral, and other objects. As much as £324,900 was raised for these purposes through private subscriptions.

We are not in a position to give an accurate or a full estimate of the number of illiterates in the diocese of St. David's when Bishop Thirlwall entered upon his duties, but they must have been considerable. According to the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the state of Education in Wales, which was presented to Parliament in 1847, only 80,361 children attended school out of a population of 1,045,958 in Wales and Monmouthshire. The Report also shows that 40 per cent. of the scholars were being educated in private schools; 50 per cent. in Church of England schools, and the rest in Nonconformist schools. Bishop Thirlwall had been about seven years in the diocese when this Report was issued; during that time he had been devoting his energies and resources in erecting schools and in creating interest in the diocese (which comprises the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan, Pembroke, Brecon, and Radnor, also that portion of Glamorgan which includes the town of Swansea) in the cause of popular education. The number of pupils in the diocese had advanced from 7000 in 1826 to 12,000 in 1846. According to the inquiry instituted by the Government into the social and economic condition of the country in consequence of the Chartist outbreak in 1839, and the Rebecca Riots in 1843, the number of schools in the diocese was 162; 19 of which were held in churches, and others in tenements of various kinds. In 1880 the number of Church schools had increased to 223, with an average attendance of 19,000. The number of Sunday scholars in 1846 was 19,600. In 1880 they had increased to 30,000, with an average attendance of 23,000.

While Bishop Thirlwall was in full agreement with Churchmen in general, that religious training should go hand in hand with secular education, he did not subscribe to the theory that purely secular education was necessarily irreligious. He believed in the Education Act of 1870 as an honest attempt to solve a difficult problem, and he impressed upon the clergy the desirability of taking a more active share in the development of a scheme for national education, and not to allow their prejudices against School Boards to keep them outside the current of national life. It is to be

regretted that the Church in Wales has not followed this advance.

The Church, which first stimulated Welshmen and Englishmen in Wales with a zeal for education, which for centuries conducted the movement single-handed, has left the completion of the work to others, with the result that it has had, comparatively speaking, very little share in determining the course of Higher Education in Wales in later years. It has been a loss both to the nation and to the Church. To this aloofness we must attribute, in part, the fact that so many Welshmen regard the educational movement in all its phases, in Wales, as being exclusively a secular or a State product.

It was in 1846 that Bishop Short began his work in St. Asaph; during the twenty-four years of his episcopate he was unremitting in his attention to the cause of popular education; of him it may be said that he was a true educational reformer. Like Bishop Thirlwall, his generosity was as boundless as his industry. Besides raising large sums of money for educational and other purposes, he himself contributed very generously to the erection of schools throughout his diocese. He arranged a course of training for his schoolmasters and school-mistresses in the form of lectures, given by a London master during the harvest holidays. He also appointed an organizing master for all the schools throughout his diocose. According to Bishop Edwards of St. Asaph, Mr. Forster, the author of the Education Act of 1870, once stated that if the whole country had been as well supplied with schools as the diocese of St. Asaph had been supplied during the episcopate of Bishop Short, his task would have been almost unnecessary. The substantial and far-reaching character of the work accomplished by Bishop Short in elementary education may be gauged by the following figures, given by the present Bishop of St. Asaph, in his "Landmarks in the History of the Welsh Church," p. 368: "In the year 1859, when the population of the diocese was 231,720, the number of pupils in the Church schools had risen from 206 (in 1859) to 228; and the number of pupils from 15,634 to 19,899." The cost of maintaining the schools between

the years 1840 and 1910 has been calculated to amount to about £785,220.

In taking a more general view of the movement, we find that before 1827 the Church had 106 schools in North Wales; and before 1847 it had 279, where 18,732 children were trained. In South Wales the Church had 312 schools before the year 1847, with 16,868 children. The increase was such that by 1902 they numbered 677, in which 91,605 children were being educated. Under the Act of 1902 the managers of the National Schools were relieved from the cost of secular education, the Church lending its buildings to the Education authorities for secular education; the Church being granted permission to impart religious instruction in them during school hours. The Church schools had been maintained by voluntary subscriptions, and the Government grant; but the managers found it difficult to keep up with the great increase in the cost of education occasioned by the introduction of School Boards in 1870, which made rapid headway throughout the whole of Wales.

Also, Nonconformists of more modern times have directed their influence against Church schools, making the question of Government grants a matter of religious and political grievance; and their attitude, together with the action of the Board of Education, has had an injurious effect on the fortunes of the voluntary schools in Wales, as well as in the country generally, so that a great number of them have been closed.

In dismissing this part of our treatment of the movement for elementary education in Wales, where the activities of the Church have been more and more curtailed in recent years through the action of the State, it is truth to say that the foundation of popular education in Wales was laid by the Church. For centuries the only provision was that made by the Church; without it the Renaissance movement in Wales, on its educational side, would not have reached its present state of development.

It is in these early efforts and aspirations that we find the key not only to the true history and development of modern Welsh education, but also the key to the mid-eighteenth

century revival, which stimulated the emotions of the people, and reformed their moral and social habits. It is a blessing to Wales in these days of industrial unrest, when materialism has come in with a rush, that this revival has not yet spent its force.

CHAPTER IV

THE PLACE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHURCH IN THE EDUCATIONAL RENAISSANCE OF WALES: HIGHER EDUCATION

As the Church was first and foremost in the early movement for popular, or elementary, education in Wales, so it has been the pioneer in the movement for higher education, as may be seen by the founding of St. David's College, Lampeter, by Bishop Burgess, in 1822, which was opened on St. David's Day, 1827. It was the first attempt in Wales to establish an institution of a University rank. Indeed, the University movement in Wales cannot be understood without reference to the activities of the Church during the preceding half-century. Although various causes have combined to keep the direction and completion of University Education in Wales out of the hands of the Church, it is worthy of note that the first request to the Government of the day for a "Commission to inquire into the present condition of Higher Education in the Principality" was drawn up by Bishop Ollivant (1798–1882) and signed by the four then Welsh bishops. It was dated from Bishop's Court, Llandaff, July, 1877.

True, Bishop Ollivant did not think the time was then ripe for a Welsh University. He was not hostile; though he may have been concerned as to how far, or in what manner, a Welsh University would affect the Church and its system. But if the Church in its corporate capacity has not been closely, or openly, connected with the cause of Higher Education in its national aspect, it has not been unrepresented, as is shown by the devotion of such men as Lords Aberdare, Tredegar, and Powis; Dean Edwards of Bangor and Dean

Vaughan of Llandaff, and the present Bishop of St. David's. The friendly attitude of the present Bishop of Llandaff to the cause of Higher Education and national movements is also well known.

During the Tudor period the Welsh clergy received their education at the Grammar Schools which were situated in the towns, and at the public schools in England; many of these clergy were graduates of Cambridge and Oxford. But not many of the Welsh candidates for Holy Orders could afford, either then or at a later period, to reside at the English Universities, and the means of education that were available in Wales for such men were of a miserable description. The object which the founders of St. David's College had in view was not merely to train candidates for Holy Orders, but to provide a definite and a systematic general and classical education within the Principality itself, with Welsh as one of the subjects; though later, in 1851, Sir Benjamin Hall (afterwards Lord Llanover) and the Rev. John Williams, M.A., Archdeacon of Cardigan and Warden of Llandovery College, openly attacked Lampeter for "its systematic neglect of Welsh studies." Having regard to the inadequacy of its endowments, the Court of Haberdashers extended to St. David's College certain Exhibitions which had been limited to the English Universities; and in 1865 its income was further augmented out of the funds of the dissolved Collegiate Church by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. It attained in 1852 a charter enabling it to confer the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and in 1865 an additional charter for conferring the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

It seemed at first as if St. David's College would join the Welsh University movement; it was suggested that the proposed University College, founded on unsectarian lines, should combine with Lampeter to form a Welsh degree-conferring University. In 1864 the University Committee in London met a deputation from St. David's College, for the purpose of discussing a working arrangement; but it soon became clear that the projected amalgamation was out of the question. Churchmen did not regard the idea with favour, while the Nonconformists were jealous of each other. Also,

the Welsh University movement covered a far wider field than the movement represented by St. David's College; it concerned men of all classes and professions: it touched the most vital interests of the nation as a whole, and therefore awakened more universal attention and support.

It was impossible to broaden the basis of St. David's College; it was equally impossible to establish a Welsh University on such a limited foundation. The result is that St. David's College remains outside the national educational movement, and the clergy who are educated there do not participate in the advantages of the Arts course in the national University. The door, however, is not finally closed; it can be admitted at any time, as a constituent College, into the Welsh University by the Crown, as the Charter of the University of Wales shows. Bishop Hughes of Llandaff has expressed his intention of ordaining graduates of the Welsh University when satisfied as to their theological training. What effect this decision will have on the future of St. David's College and on the Church remains to be seen. Possibly, it may lead to the substitution in Llandaff of a degree of the Welsh University for a Lampeter one, as the Arts qualification for his ordinals; it may ultimately serve to form a readjustment of academic relations on the part of the Church authorities.

Attention has been called by Welsh nationalists to the "fact" that while the Welsh clergy and Irish Roman Catholic priests in the main come from the farming class, the former have no political influence with the Welsh people, while the latter direct Irish politics. The explanation is, we are told, that while the Irish priests are at least free from English influence, the Welsh clergy have been dependent on the English State. We, however, have never been able to see the force or relevancy of this argument. While it must be said that some of the clergy in times past have not been as conciliatory or fraternal with the people as they might have been; and that they unwisely allowed themselves, in a certain measure, to be the instruments of defence in the interest of the landowners and the Conservative party—just as Welsh Nonconformist ministers are now the avowed

champions of the Liberal party, and of those interests that are inimical to the Church—the Welsh clergy, unlike the Nonconformist ministers, have not of recent years made the direction of Welsh politics a matter of paramount importance; nor have they looked upon it as an integral part of their ministerial responsibilities. If they have not the same measure of political influence as Nonconformist ministers now have, it has been due to their aloofness, both voluntary and enforced, from public and national movements—not to their alleged "dependence on the English State."

Judging them as a body, we know of no class of men more worthy to participate in the guidance of national affairs. True, their patriotism has not been of the loud and blatant type, which is blind to native or national weaknesses, and lacking in appreciation of the good qualities of other nationalities, but it has been none the less sincere. They have been without exception perfectly loyal to the British Crown, the British Empire, and the Anglo-Welsh Union. So that while St. David's College, Lampeter, is a purely Church institution, and while it has been a centre of culture and training for the mass of Welsh clergy, it would be true to say that it has been a National and an Imperial asset. There is every reason to hope that, under the guidance of its new Principal, Canon Joyce, a man eminent for his learning and his saintliness, the best traditions of the College will be maintained.

There is no exaggeration in the remark that, from the earliest period of intellectual activity and the initiation of the wider phases of the educational movement in Wales, Christ College, Brecon, which was reconstructed during the episcopate of Bishop Thirlwall, in 1853, as an educational establishment with an endowment out of the funds of the dissolved Collegiate Church, and that Llandovery College, originally known as The Welsh Educational Institute, have taken a leading part. Both these colleges have retained their original type and purpose, with the exception of Llandovery in respect to the Welsh language. This College, which was opened on St. David's Day, 1848, was founded by Mr.

Thomas Phillips, an eighty-eight-year-old Army Surgeon of London, who stipulated, in endowing the Institution, that Welsh should be taught daily for one hour in the College. During the life of its first Warden (the late Archdeacon John Williams) his intention was observed. The late Bishop Basil Jones, of St. David's, was refused as its second Warden because he did not know Welsh. But when the present Bishop of St. Asaph (Bishop Edwards) became Warden, he contravened the will of the founder by making Welsh an optional subject, side by side with French.

Our vision might be widened by the inclusion of another Church institution—the Ystradmeurig Grammar School—situated in the heart of Cardiganshire, which exists to this day. For a long term of years it occupied the position of leading school in Wales, in which the language and literature of ancient Greece and Rome were taught with care. It was in this atmosphere of classical tradition and learning that the late John Williams, Archdeacon of Cardigan (1792–1858) was reared.

He was a contemporary of Dr. Rowland Williams (1817–1870). Two men more fruitful in scholarship Wales has not produced since the Elizabethan age. There are others, but none of like genius, or who afford such conspicuous and incontestable examples of intellectual independence, scholastic and literary aptitude, logical precision, erudition, and digested learning. It should be the proud boast of the Church that these two remarkable men, possessing such intense moral earnestness, who threw themselves into the studies of their age, and who were among the finest products of that age, were reared within its fold. Yet, strange to relate, both were suspects with the Church authorities of their time, on account of their supposed heterodoxy respecting some of the doctrines and principles of the Church; both suffered in consequence; so did the interests of the Church. While only about sixty years separate the Wales of to-day from that of John Williams, and only about forty-eight from that of Dr. Rowland Williams, it is not an encouraging reflection that the general public, and even a considerable body of the clergy, should be so oblivious of their work and achievements.

Archdeacon John Williams had the true spirit of a scholar, a great thirst for exact knowledge, and an immense power for work. His gift for communicating his knowledge to others was fully recognized by men of authority and distinction. Sir Walter Scott said that he was "the best schoolmaster in Europe." At Balliol College, Oxford, he was placed in the first class with four others, among them being Thomas Arnold, of Rugby School fame. For a time he was head-master's assistant in the great foundation of William Wyke-ham of Winchester, a position which he resigned in 1818. Shortly afterwards he took up his residence at Lampeter as schoolmaster-vicar, but owing to some difference between him and Bishop Burgess he was not appointed Principal of St. David's College.

In 1824 he accepted the position of first Rector of the Edinburgh Academy, which position he held for twenty-two years. Some of those whom he taught afterwards became distinguished men; among them being Archbishop Tait of Canterbury, James Maxwell, Frederick Robertson of Brighton, Professor Seller, and other noted men. He broadened the basis of education in Scotland, and elevated her standard of scholarship. Among his personal friends and admirers were Sir William Hamilton, Dr. Chalmers, Carlyle, Lord Cockburn, and Sir Walter Scott, over whose remains he read the burial service in 1832. He also preached the funeral sermon of Frederick Robertson.

The Archdeacon was a man of independent spirit. He had a characteristic way of manifesting his displeasure; and he never took pains to disguise his disappointment when Thirlwall was appointed to the see of St. David's in 1840. It is alleged against the Archdeacon that down to 1840 his services to the Welsh Church had been of the slightest description. Surely it is permissible for us to ask what services had Thirlwall rendered to the Welsh Church down to 1840? His selection, in preference to the Archdeacon, was part of the fatal Anglicizing policy of those times which accounts for many of the woes of the Church. It has been said that the Archdeacon took only the interest of a scholar in the language of Wales; but that is all that can be said of Bishop Thirlwall. Unlike

Thirlwall, the Archdeacon was a son of the soil; he knew the history and literature of Wales, and he had a right to feel aggrieved; so also had Welsh Churchmen.

There never was a real bond of union between Bishop Thirlwall and the Welsh clergy; it was awe rather than love or confidence that he inspired. He was essentially "a cold and critical alien," who, in spite of the great work he accomplished, never appealed to the heart and affections of the Welsh people. The causes that led to the rise of Nonconformity he never understood. Like other English bishops in Wales, he tried to assimilate the Church in Wales to the Church in England, notwithstanding the great diversity that existed in the hereditary traits, dispositions, and customs of the inhabitants of Wales and of England.

He objected to the mode of conducting meetings in his diocese, such as singing at Holy Communion, extemporaneous prayers, and the religious "private societies," which were communicants' meetings. These private societies had been of great service among the Evangelical clergy. The system had been founded by Dr. Woodward in the reign of Queen Anne, and popularized by Wesley and Whitefield in the Georgian era. They were, in fact, the forerunners of the present Ruridecanal meetings. The custom was to hold meetings in rotation in different parishes; the largeness of the attendance and the earnestness manifested by the clergy and laity were a sure indication that they were congenial to the Welsh mind. Two sermons were preached at each service, which afforded an excellent training, especially for the younger clergy. The private societies had for their object the awakening of spiritual life among the parishioners, and of encouraging discussions between the clergy and laity as to the adoption of the best measures for promoting the interests of the Church. But Bishop Thirlwall sought to suppress them, on the ground that they were not warranted either by theory or by practice, and that they were unknown in English dioceses; they were, therefore, discontinued, to the great detriment of the Church in Wales.

Bishop Thirlwall's attitude in this and other matters was not the attitude of a statesmanlike Churchman. There is every

reason to believe that it would not have been the attitude of Archdeacon Williams, had he been appointed to the See of St. David's. It has been alleged against the Archdeacon that he desired it as a post of "learned leisure." We know of no evidence in support of this aspersion; but we do know that there were many English Church dignitaries who sought and obtained in the Church in Wales positions, not of "*learned* leisure," but of simple leisure and gain, without any of the qualifications the Archdeacon possessed. As to his "egoism and self-consciousness," there has been enough and to spare of these peculiarities in other circles of the Church, and it is one of the root-causes of the many troubles that have come upon the Church.

When, in 1848, an opportunity was given to the Archdeacon to serve the Church in Wales—after his resignation of the Rectorship of the Edinburgh Academy in 1847—as first Warden and Headmaster of Llandovery College, he rendered signal service, not only to the Church, but to the cause of education in the Principality; and at a time when education in Wales was in a very unsatisfactory state, and the subject of a good deal of controversy. Great dissatisfaction existed with regard to the condition of things at St. David's College, Lampeter; in fact, the purpose of the founders of Llandovery College was to supersede Lampeter. What Llandovery gained through the prestige of the Archbishop's name is on record. Without his influence it is doubtful whether the funds necessary for the providing of suitable buildings, which were ready in 1851, would have been forthcoming; he raised Llandovery to a leading position among the schools of Wales. He resigned in 1853.

But we must not look at his record solely with reference to his work as an educationist. His literary achievements entitle him to a high place among the literary men of the nineteenth century, though his only contribution to Welsh literature worthy of recognition is his *Gomer*, which was published in 1854, in two parts. The work forms an analysis of the language and knowledge of the ancient Cymry; it also contains examples from the production of Cymric poets, with translation. Though a loyal Churchman, the bent of his mind was not in the

direction of ecclesiasticism; he seems to have been somewhat indifferent to what may be termed ecclesiastical literature. Theological subjects do not seem to have had very much attraction for him. While he gave his reasoned and deliberate adhesion to the principal foundations on which the edifice of Christian faith and life is based, he was not as effusive, or as dogmatic, respecting certain Church doctrines, as were his critics and opponents, some of whom, perhaps, had less knowledge of them than he had, and, in all probability, had studied them with less care and conscientiousness. The Archdeacon was always accurate and truthful, and he was always loyal to the working of his own logical mind. It does not require much imagination to conceive how difficult it must have been for men of the mentality of the Archdeacon and of Dr. Rowland Williams to endure the fixed system printed in the Prayer-book, and enforced by the following words: "The settled continuance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England from which we will not endure any varying or departing in the least degree. We will that all further curious search be laid aside."

Among his most notable literary productions may be mentioned:—

"Two Essays on the Geography of Ancient Asia: intended partly to illustrate the campaigns of Alexander the Great and the Anabasis of Xenophon." London, 1829, 8vo.

"The Life and Actions of Alexander the Great" (vol. 2 of Murray's Family Library). London, 1829, 12mo. New York, 18mo, 3rd ed. London, 1860.

"Homerus." London, 1842.

"The Life of Julius Cæsar." London, 1854, 8vo.

"Discourses and Essays on the Unity of God's Will." London, 1857, 8vo.

"Essays on Various Subjects—Philological, Philosophical, Ethnological, and Archæological." London, 1858, 8vo.

Truly, he was a notable man of his age; a personality of a distinctive character and import, who was largely affected by humanistic ideas, and whose enthusiasm for learning was as marked as was his gift for teaching and administration. There is a marble bust of him in the library of

Balliol, and a portrait of him hangs in the great hall of Edinburgh Academy.

Twenty-six years after the departure of Archdeacon Williams from Lampeter, Dr. Rowland Williams took up the position of Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew at St. David's College, in 1850, which he held until 1863. Serious difficulties arose owing to his alleged heterodoxy; so strong became the reaction against him among his English superiors, that Bishop Ollivant requested him to resign his chaplaincy, but he declined. While at Lampeter he completely remodelled the financial and educational system of St. David's College, and greatly strengthened its position.

His "Essays and Reviews," published in 1860, brought him again into prominence. He was cited to appear before the Arches Court of Canterbury, December 19, 1861, the trial lasting ten days. It was contended by the Evangelical party that Williams' attitude with regard to inspiration, propitiation, justification, and the latest researches of Biblical criticism, was inconsistent with his position as priest of the Anglican Church. Judgment, which was delivered on June 25, 1862, was partly adverse and partly favourable. Three of the indictments Williams admitted—namely, those concerning inspiration, justification, and propitiation: these were held over to be tried before Judge Stephen Lushington, on December 15, 1862. Williams was suspended for a period of one year and ordered to pay costs, but he appealed in person against the judgment before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and on February 8, 1864, the Court reversed that portion of it which was unfavourable to Williams. But shortly afterwards the Convocation, headed by Pusey, condemned Williams unheard, such condemnation being based upon his "Essays and Reviews." The matter, however, was carried to the House of Lords, where the condemnation was declared to be null and void, on the ground that the Convocation had no jurisdiction in the matter. His opponents, who had now become his enemies, and who claimed to be speaking and acting in the name of the "divine law," never spared him; but none of them proved his superior.

It may be said of Williams, as of the Archdeacon, that his

direct contribution to Welsh literature is by no means commensurate with his contribution to general literature. Besides his "Essays and Reviews," his prize essay, value £500, on the comparative merits of Hinduism and Christianity, may be considered a worthy monument of his great talent and learning. He subsequently elaborated the essay, which must be considered as his finest literary production. It reveals his great qualities as historian, metaphysician, and scholar. It evinces profound knowledge of the various systems of Eastern philosophy, and it has been recognized by the foremost scholars in Europe as a standard work of reference respecting the philosophy, history, and ethical significance of Hinduism on its religious side.

The late Dean Edwards of Bangor (1837–1884) was first and foremost in the movement for securing Higher Education for Wales. Indeed, it is questionable whether there would have been a College at Bangor had it not been for Dean Edwards; it is certain that its character, as fixed by the charter, would have been different. A strong effort was made to secure the adoption of Aberystwyth as a College for North Wales, and it was thought at one time that the effort would prevail. But at a conference which was held at Chester, the Dean carried a resolution, affirming that the College for North Wales should be situated within one of the North Wales counties; and in the battle of the sites he won the case for Bangor.

He played an equally strong and successful part in determining the character of the charter. Chiefly through his instrumentality a clause was inserted to the effect that the College should be non-sectarian and non-residential. The enthusiasm for the Bangor College and for Higher Education which animated himself, he imparted to others; he assisted in raising contributions from Anglesea and Carnarvonshire to the value of £15,000. With his gifts as a preacher, and his services to the Church of which he was so distinguished an ornament, we deal in another chapter.

Mention should be made of the services rendered to the cause of Higher Education in Wales by those Churchmen who, while not Welsh by birth, made Wales the scene of their labours. In this category may be placed Dean Vaughan

(1816–1897) of Llandaff. Though Dean Vaughan could not speak the Welsh language, and though the larger part of his life was spent out of Wales, he came of a family which traces its origin to Wales, and of which the county of Breconshire was the first home. He took the deepest interest in the intellectual life of the Welsh nation, and in the various institutions which have helped to keep the Welsh language alive, such as the National Eisteddfod.

In 1879 he accepted the offer of the Deanery of Llandaff from Bishop Ollivant; that was four years before the University College was established at Cardiff in 1883. The educational development of South Wales was entering upon a new era when the Dean returned to the country from which his family had originally sprung. That his return proved a blessing to the cause of Higher Education in South Wales need hardly be said, for the Dean was a man of great scholastic attainments, of great practical ability, and of great administrative capacity, as is shown by his record as Headmaster of Harrow (1844–1859).

It has never been explained why he withdrew his acceptance of the Bishopric of Rochester which was offered to him by Lord Palmerston a few weeks after his departure from Harrow; neither has it been explained why he refused the offer of another bishopric which he subsequently received. It has been suggested that his refusal was due to his want of sympathy with clerical feeling; and that, therefore, the routine of episcopal duties would be distasteful to him. However, his work in preparing candidates for Ordination while at Doncaster, marked a new era in the history of the Church of England. It had been assumed, up to that time, that when a man had taken a degree and passed the Bishop's examination he was equipped for the work of the ministry. Dean Vaughan was, however, convinced that more was needed. His contention was that they needed preparation for the pastoral work, for the work of preaching, and for the work of understanding and interpreting the Scriptures. This task he undertook; and before he left Doncaster about sixty young men had passed through his hands, and before his death the number had reached 450. To this movement,

initiated by the Dean, must be attributed the multiplication of Theological Colleges, previously little known and little esteemed.

After he had settled at Llandaff, he began to interest himself in the cause of Higher Education in Wales, especially in the founding of a University College for South Wales, and in obtaining a decision from the Government in favour of Cardiff as the site of the new College. He took an active share in the appointment of Viriamu Jones as Principal, and of the Teaching Staff. During the succeeding ten years he was seldom absent from the Council meetings. In 1894 he was elected President of the Council in recognition of his many services. During the ten years he was associated with the University College the greatest weight was attached to his judgment, even by those who represented Nonconformist opinion. The Dean was equally interested in Howell's school, and the Cathedral school, which he placed on an entirely new footing. The sermons which he delivered Sunday after Sunday at Llandaff—always of the evangelical kind—showed that he was exceptionally gifted as a preacher. His sermons were prepared with great care, and they were characterized by great depth of religious feeling and spiritual power. Of Dean Vaughan it can be truly said that he united in himself the ideals of pastor, preacher, teacher, educationist, administrator, and patriot.

This brief treatment of the subject under consideration would not be complete without the inclusion of Bishop Joshua Hughes of St. Asaph (1807–1889), father of the present Bishop of Llandaff, and the first Welsh-speaking bishop to occupy the See of St. Asaph for one hundred and fifty years. Here it may be remarked, that as the great statesmen and scholars of the Middle Ages were ecclesiastical men, so the pioneers of modern education in Wales, in its secondary and higher form, have been largely found among ministers of religion, both in the Church and in Nonconformity : though there have been a few laymen, like Lord Aberdare and Sir Hugh Owen, who rendered conspicuous service in this direction.

Of Bishop Joshua Hughes it may be justly said that he

was largely responsible for the progress of Intermediate and Higher Education in the Principality. He possessed an advantage over most of his contemporaries in that he had acquainted himself with the educational systems of Scotland, Ireland, and various continental countries, with a view to seeing how far the social conditions of those countries corresponded with the social conditions of Wales, and in what respect their educational systems could be applied to Wales.

He also kept in close touch with almost all the Parliamentary representatives of Wales and the leaders of public opinion. If his example had been more generally followed, the Church would not now be so open to the charge of obscurantism which has been levelled against it by its critics and adversaries, for the movement in favour of Higher Education is an integral part of the Renaissance Movement on its intellectual side, and the highest manifestation of it. The spirit of intellectual freedom which it fosters is one of the most hopeful signs for the future of Wales in every thinkable way. He was among the first to observe that a degree-conferring University for Wales should be an essential part of its educational system. He also sought to obtain for St. David's College, Lampeter, further powers of conferring degrees, though his ambition in this direction was not altogether fulfilled.

He was an ardent advocate of the claims of the Welsh language in Welsh centres of learning, as well as in the Church. Indeed, he kept not only the interest of his own Church, to which he was always loyal, but the interests of his country, constantly and consistently before him. He was one of those who believed that Wales occupied a lower place than that which rightfully belonged to her, through an over-modest distrust of herself; and that she had consequently diminished her opportunities of action in many spheres of life, especially in the sphere of education. Not that he himself was an ostentatious man, nor that he believed that the Welsh should cultivate an ostentatious spirit.

Bishop Hughes was not a man who moved among the lesser men around him with a haughty and supercilious indifference; he was not among those who depreciated or

ignored the part played by Nonconformity in the Renaissance of Wales. He is known to have expressed the view that if the Church had been true to itself, and had exercised a wider spirit of tolerance, the crisis which he saw looming in the distance and which has now come to pass would not have arisen. We know of no ecclesiastic in the annals of the Church in Wales whose personal character affords such a striking example of the virtues of conduct which are written in the minor key—humility, forbearance, magnanimity, and self-sacrifice. Yet he knew his place in the world and how to maintain it; and he knew the place of the Church in the world and how to maintain it.

He sought to bring the Church into closer touch with Welsh national feeling and with Welsh national interests. Greatly as he loved the Church, he did not regard its existence or its fortunes as of more practical account than the self-respect, intellectual advancement, and liberty of the people of Wales. He always spoke and acted on the assumption that there is a virtue of patriotism which should bind the Welshman to his own country, in the same way as there is a virtue of patriotism which binds the Scotsman to Scotland, the Englishman to England, and the Irishman to Ireland. But ardent as was his patriotism, it was not that type of patriotism which is synonymous with self-interest, party motives, religious preferences, or political considerations, under the guise of what goes by the name of nationality, which so often means the ascendency of those interests represented by certain sections in the community. Though the instinctive basis of his patriotism was racial, it rose above the racial level, as it rose above the level of party and sectional interests. He was a Welsh patriot of the broadest and noblest type, who believed in, and who laboured for, a larger liberty and a greater measure of unity and peace, both religious and social, among the people of Wales. He did as much as any man of his day and generation to weld together Welshmen of various creeds and modes of thought, and to induce Welshmen to realize the place of non-Celtic influences in the making of modern Wales; but he never failed in his efforts to secure just treatment for the Welsh-speaking

elements in his own diocese, as well as in various English towns where Welsh people were to be found.

Like most, if not all the Welsh bishops, he belonged to the Evangelical school; indeed, he was considered one of its foremost leaders. He was also recognized as one of the ablest and most eloquent preachers of his generation, both in Welsh and in English. His life was pure, so were his words, so was his patriotism. He was a man without guile who always sought to do the right thing, and to give every man his exact due whether he was of his own way of thinking or not, and who always preferred to give pleasure rather than pain; and his dislike of giving pain made him tolerant. Not that he was devoid of strong convictions, or that his mind could be easily diverted or changed once it had decided upon a certain course of action. He was as notable for his stern sense of duty as he was for his genial kindness. As an educationist, ecclesiastic, preacher and patriot, Bishop Joshua Hughes occupies a high place on the bead-roll of those Welshmen who have rendered Wales great and lasting service.

CHAPTER V

THE PLACE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHURCH IN THE LITERARY RENAISSANCE OF WALES: POETIC LITERATURE

In what respect and to what extent is the mentality of the Church reflected in the literature of Wales, both classical and national, and how does its literature stand in point of form, substance, and perfection of style? What of its poetry—narrative, lyrical and satirical? What of its hymnologists? What have Welsh Churchmen done in the region of theology? Have they proved themselves fruitful in the sphere of apologetics? With the activities of the Church in the sphere of religion and pulpit oratory, where the development of Wales, historically speaking, has been more sharply defined during the preceding generations than in any other, and with the contribution of the Church towards the creation of a national sentiment, we deal in another chapter.

How, then, is the contribution of the Church to the Literary Renaissance of Wales to be measured? Obviously, we cannot deal with all the personalities who deserve to be mentioned; and our attention must be directed mainly to those who are sons of the Welsh race, though we cannot and should not ignore the services of those who, though not Welsh by birth, have made Wales the scene of their labours, for they have a legitimate claim to a place within the limits of this inquiry; and the purpose of the inquiry is to show the actual connection, so far as it can be ascertained, between the activities of the Church and the modern world of Wales.

What of the poetic literature of the Church? This takes us back to the days of Archdeacon Prys of Merioneth (1541–1623), who gave the Church its rhymed version of the Psalms. True, it is not a brilliant composition; there is no sign of

literary art, or of what is termed the dignity of literature. Whether this is due to lack of knowledge and culture, it is impossible to say. But it is a striking coincidence that we find the same indifference to form and style, even to the proper use of words, in the productions of some of the best known and most widely sung hymonologists of Wales. Their main purpose seems to have been to be understood; to reach the hearts of the people, and to make worship a matter of interest to every worshipper, by simplifying the services, and by making them congregational, rather than specially clerical, or choral. Herein, in part, lies the secret of their influence.

Archdeacon Prys translated the Psalms in a metre the people could follow—the free metre. He succeeded where others had partially failed. His version was calculated to improve and to delight the general mind. His concern was with the meaning of the thought which the Psalmist seeks to convey; so that while there is very little that is polished or artistic in his melody, there is an unequivocal indication of utility, genuine feeling, and sympathy.

The renowned Vicar Prichard of Llandovery (1579–1644) supplies us with a species of poetic literature such as had not yet appeared in Wales, and that has found no later exponents. He also wrote in a form of verse that the people could understand, short free metres. A great poet he is not, but there is a vein of true poetical sentiment in his verse. His thoughts are cast in a homely, somewhat rude mould, and are clothed in a language pre-eminently colloquial—a mixture of English and Welsh—the speech of the common people. The Welsh language had in his day become saturated with words borrowed not only from the English, but from the Latin, French, Greek, Spanish, and Italian. Vicar Prichard's poems are interlaced not only with English words, but with English idioms.

He has been studied and held in veneration, less for his poetic merit than for his reforming zeal and his purifying influence upon the religious life of Wales. His poems are chiefly interesting as an expression of the social life of that period. The first part of "The Welshman's Candle" was published in 1646, the second in 1659, the third in 1670, the last in

1672, all under the editorship of Stephen Hughes. A poetical version of it appeared in English in 1771. The work is a translation of his own sermons into popular songs, or religious carols, which number about two hundred. In his eagerness to gain the ear of his countrymen, and to impress his own age, he descended to a corrupt form of colloquialism. But he was a moral reformer, not a literary artist.

Vicar Prichard was disturbed by what he saw—the levity, immorality, and unfaith of the people. They were not exceptional sins, for every stratum of society had been contaminated. Sunday was everywhere regarded as a day of sport and vulgar pleasure. The people were as ignorant as they were immoral; very few—not one in a hundred—could read or write. Although eighty-four years had elapsed since the publication of Dr. William Morgan's Welsh version of the Bible, in 1588, and fifty years since Griffith Jones commenced his circulating schools, Vicar Prichard could not find many copies of it in the homes of the people.

As to what has been described as the "fable about the Puritanism of Prichard," it might be well to ask, "What is Puritanism?" It teaches that each congregation, or Church, is independent and supreme; it stands in opposition to the sacerdotal conception of religion; it believes that an identity of Church and State is wrong in principle. Vicar Prichard was certainly not a Puritan in this sense, though both he and Archdeacon Prys came very near to the Puritan doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers.

But Puritanism also stands for something positive. Not the least of its characteristics is its zeal for morality, which at intervals takes the form of a religious awakening, when it is seized with a great throbbing idea; that idea may be the reformation of individual character, or the immediate association of the Spirit of God with the soul of man. Puritanism appeals to the emotions. In this sense Vicar Prichard was a pronounced Puritan; it was with the view of correcting the moral evils of his day that he translated his sermons into verse and circulated them.

Having regard to the love of the Welsh for rhymes and songs, it is possible that he found it a more effective method

of bringing home spiritual truths to the masses of the people. Until the eighteenth-century Methodist Revival, preaching does not seem to have made much impression on the Welsh people as a whole. Highly as Vicar Prichard esteemed preaching, he had no illusions as to its effect upon the people's knowledge of the Scriptures or of the doctrines of the Church, or even upon their morals. "Many a man," said Luther, "listens to preaching for three or four years without learning enough to make him answer, if questioned, concerning a simple article of faith." Vicar Prichard accomplished more through his poems, or through his sermons in the form of poems, than he could have hoped to accomplish by preaching.

His work was not meant to be a compendium of theology, or an exposition of the doctrines of the Church, though he deals in a simple, direct manner with the doctrine of the Incarnation and Redemption; and he urges upon the people the necessity of religious worship, preparation for the reception of the Holy Communion, and the desirability of observing morning and evening prayer. He shows a strong aversion from the polity and doctrines of the Roman Church. He draws lessons from the events of his age, such as the Plague of London, which he cautions the people to regard as a mark of Divine displeasure. He also warns them against excessive indulgence in drink, food, and pleasure. His devotional poetry forms a distinctive feature in the Renaissance movement in Wales; it bears unmistakable imprints of a type of genius which stands practically alone in the history of the poetic and devotional literature of the Principality.

That unique and prophetic production, "The Visions of the Sleeping Bard," by the Rev. Ellis Wynne (1671–1734), Vicar of Danfair, Merionethshire, does not, technically speaking, come within the category of poetry, though the author was a child of the muse, and his work bears the imprint of a poetic mind; it might very properly be described as prose epic. With the exception, perhaps, of Christmas Evans (1766–1838), in whom imagination was in a sort of wild undisciplined luxuriance, Ellis Wynne is without his equal in the whole range of the modern imaginative literature of Wales. In the opinion of some good critics, "The Visions

of the Sleeping Bard" is equal if not superior to the exquisite prose of the Mabinogion, found in the "Red Book of Hergest."

This Welsh classic has passed through twenty-eight editions, and is truly suggestive reading. It consists of three parts: first, the vision of the course of this world; second, the vision of death in its lower court; third, the vision of hell. There is a mediæval touch about it. Indeed, there are traces of such literature in the Middle Ages. In 1667, there appeared an English translation of a work of a similar character by Quevedo, a Spaniard, which was published at Madrid in 1649; it is generally supposed among the few Welshmen who take an interest in such matters, that Ellis Wynne possessed a copy of this translation, though upon what authority we do not know. If, as it is alleged, he borrowed his ideas and similes from Quevedo, it must have been that he considered them suitable mediums for the expression of his own views respecting his own countrymen.

There are some good allegories in Johnston's works, and some of still higher merit by Addison, who was a contemporary of Ellis Wynne. They evince a good deal of ingenuity and originality in conception and execution, as well as wit. The delight which is produced by the "Vision of Mirza," "The Vision of Theodore," or the "Contest between Rest and Labour," is akin to that we derive from one of Cowley's Odes: it belongs to the understanding, or the imagination, rather than to the feelings. There is also, the House of Pride and the House of Temperance by Spenser, one of the greatest poets that ever lived, and who flourished more than a century before Ellis Wynne; though it is not considered that Spenser was very successful in his attempt at making allegory interesting.

But from whatever source Ellis Wynne received his inspiration, his genius is altogether different from the types which we generally find in the prose and poetic literature of Wales. As to its characteristics, it may be said to be a blend of phantasy and realism; the power to make us feel it; a spirit of prophetic valorousness, which is almost awe-inspiring; and the gift of depicting the incidents and characters he

introduces, with their colour and atmosphere in vivid and striking phrases.

He sought to accomplish by his visions what Vicar Prichard sought to accomplish by his poems; and, like Prichard, he strikes his own distinctive note. His work is notably characteristic in the symbolical and historical sense. By symbolical, we do not mean that it is full of enigmatical puzzles, but that it is morally symbolical; that is, a mirror for the use of the public. He looks upon the life of his age almost with the calm of a Sophocles, and he paints a panorama of that life as he knew it; and, as we think, without exaggeration. It is thought by some that his pictures are too highly coloured, and that he is really depicting vices that were common to other nations. There can be no doubt that, having in his mind's eye the medley of sects, which was even more pronounced in England than in Wales, and came from England into Wales, he paints the morals and manners of the post-Restoration periods (1660–1703), the reigns of the last four monarchs of the Stuart dynasty; and being a Conformist cleric, he echoed the general anathema of the Queen Anne London Churchmen.

Nevertheless, it is clear that Ellis Wynne had in his mind the prevailing social, moral, and intellectual condition of Wales in the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, which may be said to represent the extreme period of stagnation. He shows, as Vicar Prichard had shown in his day, that the great need of Wales was spiritual regeneration.

Though it cannot be said that Ellis Wynne's influence upon the religious life of Wales has been in any sense commensurate with that of Vicar Prichard, yet, his moralizing spirit is equally transparent. He was a realist. His purpose was not to represent or to express far-fetched situations, or vices that were exceptional; it was that of the dramatist who seeks to place real life on the stage. He tells us that he witnessed scenes of debauchery which he did not feel at liberty to describe. The characters that he introduces are not mere pale abstractions, but living flesh. We know of no other work in Welsh literature which leaves us with such a

weird, poignant, melancholy feeling. It haunts us long after we have laid it aside.

Thomas Richards, who was Rector of Newtown, Montgomeryshire, from 1713 to 1718, was recognized at Oxford as the best Latin poet since Virgil. His elegy on the death of Queen Caroline, in Latin Hexameters, was accepted as the production of a classical scholar; but he rose into prominence chiefly as the author of "Hoglandia," which was a reply to a satire upon the Welsh in the form of a poem by Holdsworth, entitled "Muscipula." He also made translations into Welsh of several popular English songs. Richards died 1760.

Goronwy Owen (1722–1769), who takes a leading place among the poets of Wales, was educated at Friar's School, Bangor. Like some of his contemporaries he suffered from want of means. Through the help which he received from Dr. Lewis's Charity, he was enabled to go to Jesus College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1745, being ordained the same year. He received priest's orders at St. Asaph in 1747. His first appointment through the chaplain of Bishop Hutton of Bangor, to the curacy of his native parish in Anglesey, was cancelled after Owen had spent three weeks there. This was in consequence of a letter from Bishop Hutton in which he directed the chaplain to give the curacy to the Rev. John Ellis, on the ground that he was "a young clergyman of very great fortune." From 1753 to 1755, Goronwy was curate at Walton, Liverpool. In fact, the greater part of his life was spent out of Wales. In 1757 he sailed for America in a ship called the *Trial*, to take up the post of tutor at Williamsburg, Virginia. During the voyage, his wife and youngest son died. In 1760 he was made Rector of St. Andrews, Brunswick County, where he died in 1769. As to the effect of his first bitter disappointment, and his subsequent failure to obtain a suitable sphere of work in Wales, upon his later habits, we need not dilate here; except to say that in our judgment they were, undoubtedly, the effect rather than the cause, as the record of his life as a whole clearly shows.

It was the fate of this anointed poet to see nearly all his earthly wishes disappointed. Yet a more brilliant mind, a

more ardent patriotic spirit, never adorned the literature of Wales. No other Welsh poet more completely fulfils the idea of genius, not even Dafydd ap Gwilym, who flourished in the latter half of the fourteenth century, and to whom the badge of superiority has usually been given.

Goronwy Owen might, not improperly, be called the Wordsworth of Wales; not that we would place him, or any other Welsh poet, in the same category, or on the same level, as Wordsworth. But there is more than a fancied resemblance between them. They were very near being contemporaries. Both combined fine artistic power with profound religion; and in their self-revelations, they convey the impression of natures hard to govern; of violent passions subdued with difficulty. Both were conscious reformers, and were isolated by a feeling of their prophetic character. Like Wordsworth, Goronwy had to face public indifference and hostility, partly for the reason that his contemporaries failed to take a just measurement of his genius. There is something of pathos in the recollection of the relations which the two poets bore to the literature of their day. Such criticisms as they received, and such contemptuous indifference as was meted out to them, was little better than spiteful vituperation.

It is difficult to say which has the worst effect upon a poet or a publicist, whether fulsome and indiscriminate praise, the apathy of an indifferent public, or the hostility of adversaries. But the effect both in the case of Wordsworth and of Goronwy Owen, was to increase in their temperament a stubborn dependence upon themselves. Only men who had something of the fighter in them, could have defied the world as they did. Though it might be said of them as of every other mortal, that they would have valued public encouragement, yet neither of them wrote with any definite attempt to gain the ear of the public, and they nurtured their nature in solitary endurance. Of Goronwy, as of Wordsworth, it can be said, that it was his imagination that made him a poet, and that the sureness which is usually associated with slowness, has marked the growth of his poems. The reputation of both has continued to increase, while that of other poets that once dominated the horizon has receded more and more.

What Goronwy, like Wordsworth, lacked, was those equipments which enable lesser men of all grades to secure quick advancement and success. Under his intellectual life there throbbed a difficult pulse of valorous restlessness, and he bore the marks of a strenuous and an anxious life. Of him it might be said as Coleridge said of Wordsworth, that he was a much-enduring man; yet he was sturdy, independent, and unsubduable. It was a peculiarity of both that they never adjusted themselves or their art to environment. There is the same intensity of conviction, the same saving virtue of lofty purpose, the same close observant communion with Nature in all her moods, and a corresponding power of depicting Nature.

It is impossible to trace the origin or style of any considerable portion of the poetry of either to literary sources, except that in the case of Wordsworth, his "Ode on Intimations of Immortality" may be said to owe its suggestion to certain beautiful lines of Henry Vaughan the Silurist; it is thought that "Laodamia" was inspired by a re-perusal of Virgil in middle life. Coleridge also may have had something to do with the formation of his taste. Goronwy Owen took as his mentor, or model, "The Visions of the Sleeping Bard," by Ellis Wynne. This he recognized, and the influence of Ellis Wynne upon his thought and style is not difficult to trace. But in the main, it must be said of Goronwy as of Wordsworth, that he stood alone, and that in virtue of his own peculiar genius he rose into a region of sublimity of thought and dignity of expression to which no literary guide could have conducted him.

Goronwy directed, rather than followed, the taste of his time. He pleaded for a return to the austerer metres, and to the diction of the older Welsh poets. He was unsparing in his denunciation of the "penillion telyn," a form of Welsh poetry which had attained considerable popularity in his day, but which, as he rightly considered, was degrading to poetic art and to public morals. He sought to do for Welsh poetry what Ramsay, Hamilton, and Ferguson, the precursors of Robert Burns, tried to do for Scottish poetry. They tried to raise the Lowland tongue—and succeeded in no small degree—

from the low estate into which it had fallen; it had degenerated into a vehicle of rude ballads and ruder songs, from which the gleams of true poetry had almost disappeared. Goronwy Owen was a purist in Welsh, as well as in the art of poetry. He studiously abstained from using those words and loose terms—an admixture of English and Welsh—which were current in his day. The tendency was to adopt a word, or to introduce a term, merely because it was native and familiar, without any regard to purity of thought and expression, or to fitness and elegance. Against this tendency Goronwy set his face, thus subordinating popularity, or contemporary fame, to higher interests. He had the unerring taste which could separate what was correct and elegant in the Welsh tongue from what was commonplace, so that he was homely without being vulgar, and his homeliness was of the true kind, which touches the true chord, and the exact note which he intended to strike.

When we try to ascertain the peculiarities of a poet's genius, or work, what we mean is his inspiration, his peculiar moral and intellectual interests, and his style, which may be cultivated for the sake of the thought of which it is the setting, and for its own sake. We know of no *prose* writer among the Welsh who can be said to be a model in literary style or criticism. In Welsh poetry Goronwy Owen will stand comparison with the best. He had clearly defined views on the art of poetic expression, which he championed with courage. It is difficult to say where the charm of his poetry lies, but we feel it, and are thrilled before its power. His style is nervous, cogent, and often full of melody; the stress which he lays on the moral aspect of poetry, and on the purity of language, isolates him from the poetic fraternity of his day. His superiority to Dafydd ap Gwilym is, in this respect, very manifest. The latter had an uneasy and jealous instinct of contemporary popularity, which caused him to sacrifice purity of language for the sake of popularity, by using words that were in general use, and by introducing English words and embodying them in his works.

Goronwy made Dafydd ap Gwilym's attitude with respect to the purity of the language a matter of criticism, as he did

the action of Dr. Richard Davies in taking the Welsh of Dafydd ap Gwilym and that of Edmund Prys as his standard, though he cynically allowed that Dafydd ap Gwilym was as entitled to that "mark of distinction" as any other Welsh writer of his age. There is not the same romantic charm about Dafydd ap Gwilym as there is about Goronwy Owen, neither is he so realistic. There is a great deal of exaggerated travesty about some of the poetry of the former, and he was by no means troubled by scruples. Goronwy had drunk deeper of the well of Welsh undefiled, and he taught with greater care the lesson of the potency of pure and classic Welsh as the vehicle of poetic literature; his criticism of the *cynghanedd*, and of what he considered to be deterioration under the guise of improvement in Welsh poetic art, shows that he had the courage of his convictions, and that he, like every true reformer, was indifferent to contemporary opinion.

Dafydd ap Gwilym's reputation rests mainly upon his Nature and love poetry. If we eliminated from Welsh poetry all the parts that are saturated with admiration for, and love of Nature, we should be robbing it of that which is most characteristic of it. But Dafydd ap Gwilym never wrote with more passion, or with greater variety of natural feeling, than did Goronwy Owen, and of the latter's fervour it can be truly said that it was never indelicate. Unlike Dafydd ap Gwilym, Goronwy did not manifest to the same degree, the trait which is so characteristic of Welsh genius; that is, descending to the commonplace; he never shocks our æsthetic morals. The former's jests are not always becoming. He converts the angels of heaven into winter geese. His drolleries about the thunder and lightning are far from being the fruit of genius.

Dafydd ap Gwilym was highly conventional, and he did what is very common among poets in general, that is, makes Nature his accomplice rather than his instructress; the winged birds which he selects to convey his messages, he makes his mimics, not his teachers, which gives him the appearance of being fanciful and stagey, rather than real. Some of the subjects which he chose for his themes were highly fanciful, and his mood impresses us on occasions as

being his own affected mood, rather than the mood and heart of Nature. He takes his own mood to Nature and persuades himself that she reflects it. Instead of going to Nature with an open mind, leaving her to create a mood in him, he asks Nature to echo him; with the result that much of what he writes of Nature is more of word-painting than inspired poetry.

In order to see the force of this, we have only to compare his verses on the Summer and Winter with, for instance, Wordsworth's memorable lines composed at Tintern Abbey, in which he speaks of the tranquil restoration, the sensations sweet, felt in the blood, and felt along the heart, which Nature had wrought in him. What Dafydd ap Gwilym does is to take an inventory of Nature. As a catalogue it is excellent, for of the fidelity of his observation there can be no question. But he relies on his observation for his interpretation of Nature, and he seldom gives us the impression which Nature produces on his own spirit. The revelation is lost in the revealer.

To Dafydd ap Gwilym, Nature appears to be more of a person than to Goronwy Owen; that is, the idea of the living personality of Nature was more of a definite reality to him; an inspiration he probably caught from a Welsh poet named Rhys ap Rhiccert. He did not lack beauty and strength; this undoubtedly was one of the sources of his great power. He had his virtuous as well as his perverse moods. Judged by a Welsh standard he is a great poet; though Goronwy appears to us to be the more essentially a poet, and the more keenly intellectual.

But, like Charlemagne, he came an age too soon; he could not, therefore, hope to bring to pass his desired reforms, any more than Charlemagne's bold and constructive genius could fashion into permanent form the chaos which had brooded over Europe since the dissolution of the Roman world. But Goronwy said that he was willing to wait eighty or a hundred years for his vindication. Though he has of later years been receiving a larger measure of recognition, it still remains true, that he is one of the sons of Wales to whom full justice has yet to be done; both on account of the pure merit of his

poetry and of his reforming zeal. As to his poetry, all that is most calculated to improve the art and to delight the mind is there to be found; we do not know of any species of Welsh poetry that affords more unequivocal indication of genuine feeling, integrity, and patriotism. The emotions he creates in us are pure and ennobling, and what may be said of the state of his moral feeling may also be said of his outward beauty and force of expression. He was a man of many moods; sometimes verging on despair, sometimes bitter under the sense of his own disappointments; but of the catholicity of his personal and patriotic spirit there can be no question; though his patriotism was neither frenzied nor violent, but tempered with reason and discrimination.

Apart from the merit of his poetry he deserves, as we have already suggested, recognition for having sought to preserve amid the prevailing indifferent taste, some of the simplicity, purity, and picturesqueness of Welsh literature; to instil into it what is so much needed to bring any literature to perfection, namely, fire, dignity, and sustained eloquence. He had the Spartan temper of austere devotion to the country of his birth, and to the poetry of his country; and by poetry he meant not prose in rhythmical form, but perfect vision in perfect language. Though he may be said to have had some acquaintance with Greek and Latin poets, he affords a striking example of the truth that inspiration—that indefinable something which is natural and spontaneous, which cannot be produced at will nor retained at pleasure—is independent of education, culture, even of character.

To write of Goronwy Owen without naming Sir Lewis Morris (1833–1907) would be invidious and unjust. Apart from the intrinsic merit of his poetry he is better known, and has been more widely read, partly for the reason that he wrote in English. He was nurtured in the traditions of the Church, and he remained loyal to the teaching of the Church throughout his life. He has been a greater medium of inspiration and education to the outside world than either Goronwy Owen or Dafydd ap Gwilym. He was in closer touch with the modern spirit, and the subjects which he chose were of more general interest, which partly accounts

for the fact that his poetry bears a closer relation to human thought and experience.

The qualities which give permanence to poetry are various. It may be an exposition of Nature, a summary of experience, a lesson in philosophy, or an ardent picture of human nature. Or it may possess some curious felicity of phrase and expression which appeals to the fancy or to the imagination. If we examine the poems of Sir Lewis Morris in the light of these definitions, how does he stand? He is not so much the poet of Nature as Goronwy Owen, or Dafydd ap Gwilym; but his "Ode on a Fair Spring Morning" shows a real instinct for the interpretation of Nature, and for bringing Nature into human life. His "Gwen"—a drama in Monologue—and "Epic of Hades," have something of that supreme touch and inspiration which gives immortality to literature; he strikes the true vibrating chord of human feeling, and his style is full of grace and virility.

He has been described as a "faithful Tennysonian." He certainly belonged to the ornate school, of which Tennyson is the undisputed master, and whose chief distinctions were felicity of epithet and fidelity in the depiction of natural phenomena. No one would claim that Sir Lewis Morris was a great man, or a poet of extraordinary genius. He is not one of those personalities that impress us by the amplitude of their powers, and by the splendour of their achievements. It may be doubted if he possessed genius of a high order. But he was a man of many talents, which he used with aptitude and industry. He was also a man of sincere and unostentatious goodness, whose outward expression was found in a life of genial sympathies, strenuous and lofty purpose, and patriotic fervour. He was greatly interested in the educational development of Wales. It was expected that he would be made Poet Laureate, but Gladstone willed otherwise. Among his other publications are the following: "Songs of Two Worlds," 1872–74–75; "The Ode of Life," 1880; "Songs Unsung," 1883; "Gycia," a Drama, 1886; "Songs of Britain," 1887; "A Vision of Saints," 1890; "Songs without Notes," 1894; "Idylls and Lyrics," 1896; "Harvest Tide," 1901; "The New Rambler," 1906.

Coming to the religious poetry, or the hymnology of the Church, there is, for example, one who has a right to an honourable place in the national literature of Wales; namely Evan Evans (1795–1855), known as "Ieuan Glan Geirionydd." He also spent a good portion of his life out of Wales. Through the help of patriotic Churchmen he was enabled to go to St. Bees' College. He held curacies at Christleton near Chester, Ince, Jrefriw, and Rhyl. It is claimed in answer to those who have complained of the indifference, even neglect, with which he was treated by the Church authorities of his day, that he was placed in charge of the Welsh Church at Chester, where he received a fair income. Of the merits of this dispute we do not profess to have any knowledge. We know, however, that he was a most ardent Welshman, and that he did much to bring about the awakening in Wales. His longer poems have not been without their influence on later generations of bards. But his reputation rests on his contribution to purely religious literature; in those hymns, some of them the best of the century, such as "Ar Lau Iorddonen Ddofn" and "Fy Nhad sydd wrth y Llyw" (My Father is at the helm). His hymn-prayer, "O Ddnw! na wrthod fi" (O God, do not reject me), is as popular in Wales as the Lord's Prayer. The spirit of divine trust, a tender resignation, a clear hope in a beyond, and in the final triumph of the good, is vividly perceived in his poetry. Being typically Welsh, the spirit of gloom, or the seriousness of his yearnings, is almost painful. He not only expresses, but feels and actually shares, the sum of the agony and the hope of the human heart; but his predominant note is faith. He sees the brightness of a great hope falling across the world like the slanting beams of a growing sunrise, and he ever points to the dawn.

There is ample justification for including William Williams (1717–1791), better known as "Williams Pantycelyn." True, his soul was cast in a larger mould than is conditioned by Anglicanism or by Nonconformity as such; he is a national possession, and he wears a national crown. Nonconformist apologists have not resisted the temptation to make heroes of Williams Pantycelyn, Daniel Rowland Llangeitho, and Peter Williams, who were contemporaries, and

who died within six years of each other: the latter in 1796, the second in 1790, the first in 1791. All three had been brought up in the traditions of the Church, and each was forced out of the Church in consequence of conduct which was deemed Methodistical; that is, disobeying "diocesan authority," by ministering beyond the limits of his own parish and preaching in unconsecrated places.

It is certainly a lamentable reflection that Daniel Rowland, one of the most illustrious names in the annals of the religious life of Wales, whose eloquence was such that persons were known to travel a hundred miles to hear him preach at Llangeitho on a Sunday morning; that William Pantycelyn, the greatest hymnologist of Wales; and that Peter Williams, who gave Wales her first Welsh Family Bible, and whose name is a household word wherever Welshmen reside, should have been forced out of the Church by alien bishops and for the same cause. It is also regrettable that the action of Bishop Squire, who prevented Rowland from ministering in his parishes, Llangeitho and Nantcwnlle (it is thought that he cancelled his licence, though there is no proof of this)—and that the action of Bishop Clagett of St. David's in refusing to ordain William Pantycelyn as priest, after he had served three years as curate of Llanwrtyd and Abergwesyn, to which he had been ordained in 1740, should at this late hour be condoned, even vindicated, on the ground that they "did not confine their activities to their own particular parishes," and that "many of the Established clergy chafed under the intrusion into their parishes of zealous but often indiscreet itinerants."

That there were what some ecclesiastics call "ignorant and indiscreet itinerants," as there were ignorant and indiscreet clergy, there can be no question; but surely, Daniel Rowland, William Pantycelyn, and Peter Williams cannot be placed in this category! What did those clergy who "chafed" do for their Church or for Wales? They lived, apparently, in indifference to everything except to their own ease, and to what they considered the dignity of their position, and they died in obscurity; while those "ignorant and indiscreet" itinerants travelled many miles in the year,

crossing the hills either on foot or on horseback in all sorts of weather, to preach the Gospel; and often, like Christmas Evans, receiving only eighteen-pence for two sermons, and sometimes nothing except their lodgings. The "ignorant and indiscreet" itinerant Rhys Davies, or "Rhys Goeshren" (=wooden leg) scarcely ever preached without being blessed with converts. It was under the influence of his preaching that Williams of the Wern, a preacher who combined in himself the philosopher, the metaphysician, and the orator, and who created a new period in the pulpit life and theology of Wales, was converted. His magnificent voice could be heard with ease by an audience of 10,000 at an open air meeting, without a sentence or inflexion in his rhythmical delivery being missed. These itinerant preachers helped to rouse Wales from her moral lethargy and to set her on the road to nationhood. Crude as many of these itinerants were, they had something to impart to plain men and women. Williams of the Wern never referred to Rhys Davies, or "Rhys Goesbren," as "an ignorant itinerant," but always as "his father in the faith."

"It has been the glory of the Church of England," said the late Mr. Lecky once, "that there is no other Church which has shown itself so capable of attracting and retaining the services of men of general learning, criticism, and ability." To the judgment of this talented and impartial critic we unhesitatingly subscribe. But we doubt whether the same could be said of the Church of England in relation to the class of people who do not, and cannot, emphasize their claims in these directions. We have observed in another portion of this work, that the Anglican system seems to us to be better fitted than either Roman Catholicism, or Nonconformity, or any other system, when worked with knowledge and sympathy, to weld together conflicting forces, and to reconcile individualism with authority in religion. But it is no rash thing to say that it was not worked with knowledge and sympathy by Bishops Clagett and Squire, nor by some other English dignitaries in Wales.

It is plain to one who reads the history of that period, a period which forms an epoch in the Renaissance of Wales,

that they failed to make good the claim, or title of the Church, to be the soul or conscience of the nation; that they individually and officially manifested a want of tolerance, adaptation, sympathy and comprehensiveness, which are almost necessarily the distinctive notes of a national Church. Their Churchmanship was rigid and narrow; it was so exclusive that it failed to appeal to certain deeply religious spirits of that age; with the result, that in the greatest religious crisis through which Wales has ever passed, they did a signal disservice to their own Church, by causing it to play in that historic period, the part of a sect or a denomination, and not a national Church. Making all deductions and allowances that charity demands, the stubborn fact remains, and will not be altered, that, whether from an overmastering regard for traditional technicalities, or from a suspicion of a movement which originated from below, they were at least the chief occasion of causing the Church to shrink for generations to the position of the spiritual home of a mere minority, with its disastrous political consequences.

Every great movement is the joint product of a great opportunity and a great personality, or personalities, concurring with a silent resistless tendency. Of no movement in Welsh history is this more true than of the eighteenth-century religious awakening in Wales, and in none are the factors more distinctly traceable. Part of the secret of the influence wielded by Rowland and Williams and the leaders with whom they were associated, lay in the fact that there was an essential similarity between their thoughts and feelings, and the thoughts and the feelings of a great number. It is true that men help to make the history of their own age; it is equally true that they themselves are made by it. Problems, or movements, do not work themselves out by formulæ; men make society and society makes men; and there never was a time in the history of Wales when personality was a stronger factor in the Renaissance movement than it was in the eighteenth century.

The student of the period finds it hard to avoid the conclusion that there was a common influence, or a set of influences, operating on the public mind which acted like a

contagion for good. Such was the condition of things that a great change was impending in the Church itself; indeed, the source of this great spiritual energy was within the Church itself. Also, Wales was then, religiously and socially, a powder mine, ready to be exploded by a spark, and a spark was sure to come from some quarter, Methodism or no Methodism. If Bishops Clagett and Squire had taken the contrary course, they would have been able to bring the Church in its corporate capacity into line, not with Methodism, but with the spiritual influences that were at work within itself. There were three courses open to them: to drift with the current; to divert and to guide it: to dam and turn it back, as we dam and turn back a river; they chose the last. Therefore, as soon as the exponents and leaders of the movement began to cross their desires, their opposition rapidly developed into a conviction that they were enemies of authority and discipline. The idea of the destinies of a nation as something whose spiritual and intellectual guidance was a proper object of ambition for men like Daniel Rowland and Pantycelyn, was apparently foreign to their mind, and Welsh patriotism was a meaningless word to them.

It need hardly be said that the Methodists were ready and pleased to receive these apostolic men into their brotherhood; but to make sectarian heroes of them, as is being done, is to misrepresent them, and to do an injustice to their memory. Not only were they brought up in the traditions of the Church, but in life and in death they set their seal on all that is of the faith of the Church—its creeds and doctrines. Though they had been compelled to labour in formal connection with Calvinistic Methodism during the greater part of their life, they were in no sense imbued with sectarian prejudices. There was no idea of a break with the doctrines of the Church, or with its traditions. After they had been cast adrift like orphans, they harboured no bitterness or malice; but seeing that the powers that controlled the institutional development of the Church were unaffected by the new movement, and that they looked upon it with disfavour, they left the Church; the gainer being Nonconformity, the loser the Church.

Pantycelyn's son, Peter Bayley Williams, kept to the old faith of his father; he was preferred to the living of Llanrug, near Carnarvon. Besides translating two of Richard Baxter's works, "A Call to the Unconverted," and "The Eternal Rest of the Saints," he wrote a memoir of his father, which was published with Fisher's first edition of the Family Bible. In 1867 Kilsby Jones, himself a very notable preacher and man of letters, published the prose and poetic works of Pantycelyn; and Dr. Cynhafal Jones issued his works in two volumes; the first of which appeared in 1887, the second in 1891.

There stands to Pantycelyn's credit about seventy-four productions, including thirty-three elegies upon the most prominent men with whom he associated during the great revival. His *Theomenphus* has been described as an epic poem; there is certainly an epical thought in the background. How far he is indebted to Milton's "Paradise Lost" it is difficult to decide; but there is a striking resemblance in conception and in characterization to Bunyan's "Christian." He gives an outline of his life before his conversion, his conviction of sin, his temptations and fears, his meeting with false teachers, his confirmation in the faith, and his death. Many of the eight hundred and fifty-seven hymns which bear his name are translations from English hymnologists, though there can be no doubt that the majority are distinctly original.

It is remarkable how Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" and Milton's "Paradise Lost" appealed to Welsh prose and poetic writers of those and other times, the number of translations being very numerous. Also a perusal of Welsh sermonic and religious poetic literature shows that, in times past, Welsh hymnologists derived much of their inspiration from English and continental Puritans. Their devotional and theological works were the quarry from which they seemed to have hewn the material for their discourses, hymns, and compositions. Pantycelyn was no exception, though his plaintive note, which at times develops into a mournful wail, would not suit the English temperament.

A critical examination of Pantycelyn's hymns clearly shows that his genius was characteristically Welsh, in that

it is a periodical descent from the sublime to the commonplace. In his more inspired moments he wrote verses which, from the point of view of literary style, are unmatched in the whole range of the poetic literature of Wales: yet in other moods he evinces almost a cynical indifference for the dignity of poetry and literature, and for what is called style.

The secret of his great power seems to us to lie in three sources. First, he had the good fortune to fall upon days that were highly favourable to sacred poetry; he appeared during abnormal religious times. Secondly, he possessed that diviner soul which enabled him to discover the secret force from which national tendencies and purposes were to be born. Thirdly, the influence of the hymnologist of those times was not only contemporaneous and co-extensive with that of Welsh evangelical preachers, but it was fed and strengthened by it. In addition to this there is the power of his own affection, the ardour of his thoughts, the devoutness of his spirit, the loftiness of his imagination, which was entirely remote from mere fancy, the tenderness and breadth of his sympathies which amount almost to a humanitarian passion. Hence it is that he strikes forth tones of eternal melody, that he cheers the solitude and sadness of the men and women, and even of the children, who read and sing him and gives balm to the wounds of non-fulfilment in their lives; that he counteracts that proneness to materialism which is the constitutional infirmity of human nature; that he humbles men into the discovery of what they are in their estrangement from goodness, and educates in them the soul of what they are capable of becoming. Truly, Pantycelyn was the cup-bearer of the Eternal King, bearing the wine that makes the heart glad.

CHAPTER VI

THE PLACE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHURCH IN THE LITERARY RENAISSANCE OF WALES: PROSE LITERATURE

In attempting a survey of the contribution of the Church as it relates to the prose literature of Wales, our difficulty is to know what not to say, for the period extending from the sixteenth to the eighteenth, and even to the nineteenth century, most prolific one. Some of the writers were amateurs who worked out their own education, but they were all moved by the new ideals which were influencing methods of culture. They were genuinely religious men; by this we mean, that religion not only influenced their feeling and conduct, but their thought; their quick and active minds turned towards problems of the spiritual realm. What they may have lacked in critical power they made up in zeal, and literature to them had a fascinating use and meaning. The widening of the circle of human interests, which produced the new Learning and was fostered by it, appealed with constantly increasing force to their mind. They were men of the Renaissance period; they took an interest in many subjects, and with an energy that suggests restlessness, which, perhaps, accounts for some of their shortcomings. Certain it is, that out of their dislike of idleness there came a versatility worthy of note, even in generations noted for versatile men.

It has been said—and there is truth in the statement—that it has been the misfortune of Wales, that the patriotism of her sons is far more pronounced when there is something to gain, than when there is something to give; but there is not, we think, a single personality in this most interesting group, against whom such motives could be imputed; they appear to us to have worked far more for the interest of their

country and of literature, than for their own; they were men of intense moral earnestness, who loved liberty as they loved truth, and who claimed the right to search and to teach the truth as they understood it.

Most of them were poor and died poor; some had to depend during their last days on the charity of the benevolent, though they had done work that would have brought honour to any of the Welsh University Colleges of to-day. At their own risk they undertook the responsibility of translating English works into Welsh, producing original works, issuing editions of the Bible; and even personally selling their productions about the country. To deal fully with all of them would require a volume in itself; therefore we can only give what appears to us to be the most striking examples, and simply by way of illustration.

Dr. Erasmus Saunders (1670–1724), who was Prebendary of Brecon from 1709 till his death, fills an important place in the historical literature of Wales; not that he was a man of great literary gifts, or had any literary ambition. He had other and higher motives. In 1721, he published a "View of the State of Religion in the Diocese of St. David's about the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century," in which he gives a faithful and a lurid picture of the religious condition of the Principality. History is a branch of literature, and the historian must follow some principle or purpose, for history is not simply a record of facts, but an account of the impression left upon the historian's mind by his study of the record of facts; this is the rôle that Dr. Saunders fills. Not only does he record facts with exactness, but he makes the record interesting and instructive, and he keeps it in touch with life.

Here, however, we are on debatable ground. While the facts are admitted, the interpretation placed upon them by Church historians on the one hand, and by Nonconformist or Nationalist historians on the other, differs materially. While the former regard them as evidence of "the profane and impious changes which the iniquity of the times had brought upon the Church," and by this they mean "the troublous times of the Reformation," "fanatical dissent," and the "days of the Commonwealth;" the latter regard them as evidence

of the condition of extreme languor and inefficiency into which the Church in Wales had fallen at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and of the lack of influence on the part of Church dignitaries in their respective dioceses and spheres of labour.

But it is interesting to note, in this connection, that as the result of an episcopal visitation, Bishop Bayley, of Bangor, issued a report, in 1623, in which he gave a description of the state of things in the churches and parishes of his own diocese. He dwells on the moral and spiritual apathy into which many of the clergy of those times had fallen; their lack of religious zeal, and, in many cases, of mental equipment; their neglect of the most sacred duties of their office, such as administering the Holy Communion, preaching, registering christenings, weddings and funerals. That there were exceptional clergymen in his and other dioceses, who were well-educated, spiritually-minded, and fully alive to their responsibilities, there is ample evidence.

That Evan Evans (1731–1781), known as Ieuan Brydydd Hir, is worthy of recognition may be gathered partly from the fact that Chancellor Silvan Evans undertook the task of editing his works, containing his poems and letters, with a brief summary of the subject's life. It is thought that Gray found materials for some of his productions in the volume of Ancient Welsh Poems with Latin translations, published by Evan Evans in 1764, much of whose time was devoted to the work of translating old manuscripts—his collection amounting to many volumes. In 1776 he published two volumes of sermons by various authors. He had a great quantity of material in manuscript, which he failed to publish through lack of support. This collection was acquired by Paul Panton, a philanthropist and antiquarian, who was greatly interested in the literary labours of Welshmen, and upon whose bounty Evan Evans subsisted during the later years of his life. There are three MS. volumes of his in the British Museum which form part of a Commentary on the Old and New Testament, and which he had intended to publish. If he had been better supported, Welsh literature would have been all the richer. He was educated at the

Ystradmeurig School, Cardiganshire, and Merton College, Oxford. After taking Holy Orders he served curacies in several districts in North Wales, but he never had a benefice.

Moses Williams (1686–1742) is another of this group of literary men, whose services to Wales and to the literature of Wales were not properly appreciated in his day, though he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1716 he was made Vicar of Defynock, Breconshire, which he afterwards exchanged for Chilton Trinity, and St. Mary's, Bridgwater, which he held at the time of his death. Like most of the literary men, during the periods under discussion, he was interested in the preservation of the Welsh language; and as a contribution to that end, he purposed publishing a Welsh Grammar and Dictionary on a more comprehensive scale than had previously been attempted; but receiving no encouragement from his superiors, he abandoned his intention. His chief service to Wales was his publication of two editions of the Bible, the first of which appeared in 1717–18, the expenses being born by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; the second appeared in 1727. Another work of importance was his "Repertorium Poeticum," which was published 1726. In this he gives a list of Welsh poetry contained in Welsh manuscripts, which he arranged in alphabetical order. He collaborated with Dr. Wotton in publishing "The Laws of Howel Dda," though it is stated in the title-page that the translation was the work of Dr. Wotton, with the assistance of Moses Williams.

Thomas Jones (1752–1845), vicar of Creaton, Northamptonshire (another pupil of Ystradmeurig School, founded by Edward Richard), was as eminent in his day for his learning as he was for his preaching abilities; and, like most Welshmen who have made their mark in the pulpit life of Wales, he was of the evangelical type. He rendered considerable assistance to the Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala, in the founding of the Bible Society. His "Scriptural Directory," which was published in English, passed through ten editions. Among the many works which he translated into Welsh was Baxter's "Saints' Rest," a class of work which greatly appealed to Welshmen in those times.

There is Richard Williams, a nineteenth-century poet and scholar, who was vicar of Machynlleth; also of Llanferes, near Mold. He accompanied Pennant in his tour through Wales and translated for him much of the poetry which appears in his work. He also translated Gray's poems into Latin, and assisted in the production of "Relics of the Welsh Bards." His contemporary Robert Williams, who was Vicar of Llangadwaladr and Rhydycroesau, near Oswestry, and of Culmington, near Craven Arms, translated the "Book of Taliesin" into English, for Skene's "Four Ancient Books of Wales." He was co-editor of "Selections from the Hengwrt MS.," author of a Cornish-English Dictionary, published in 1865; and of a "Biography of Eminent Welshmen," published in 1836 and in 1852.

Walter Davies, better known as "Gwallter Mechain," who also flourished in the nineteenth century, contributed to Carlisle's "Topographical Dictionary of Wales," Bingley's "Tours," and the "Myvyrian Archæology." A more liberal patriot, a greater Eisteddfodwr, a more voluminous writer, never appeared during the whole of the century.

As to the spade-work of inquiry into Welsh origins and history, the Church can claim some prominent representatives; indeed, the best and major portion of this branch of Welsh literature has been undertaken by Welsh Churchmen. Of the three examples which we propose to give, the first in order of time is Theophilus Evans (1693–1767), who was ordained by Bishop Ottley of St. David's in 1717; in 1739 he was appointed to the two livings of Llangamarch, and St. David's Brecon, which he jointly held until 1763. He wrote largely on religious subjects, but nothing of great or permanent value. He was, however, a man of ability and literary taste. His chief work, by which he is remembered among Welshmen, "A Mirror of the Primitive Ages," written in Welsh, was designed to give a history of the Welsh people from the earliest times. It was divided into three parts. The first dealing with Cymric genealogies; the conflicts between the Cymry and the Romans, the Normans and the English; and the state of their morals before they embraced Christianity. The second, dealing with the progress of

Christianity in Britain, and Church doctrines. The work has gone through twenty editions, the last being published in 1902, under the auspices of the Guild of Graduates.

A truly ambitious and worthy undertaking, whatever its imperfections. For many years it was recognized as an authoritative and reliable history of the Cymric people; such was the descriptive power of the author, his array of evidence, and his faithful adherence to Welsh idiom, that it at once appealed to the fancy and pride of his contemporaries. Into this history he introduced some contentious matter concerning Nonconformity and the Revival movement. The latter he regarded as detrimental to the dignity of worship, and to the interests of religion. It is thought that he encouraged Bishop Clagett of St. David's to refuse ordination to Williams Pantycelyn as priest. Theophilus Evans gave currency to the notion that the days of yore were the Golden Age of the Welsh. But his work has not stood the test of historical criticism; it is a mixture of fact and myth; he lacked the primary qualifications of a critical and a scientific historian. Though Goronwy Owen, somewhat ungenerously, calls him a "babbler," he deserves credit for having collected a good deal of useful material, and for having made a substantial contribution to the movement for the preservation of the Welsh language.

It should, however, be stated, that since his day a great advance has been made in Wales, in the scientific method of reading and interpreting history. As an example, we may refer our readers to Stephen's "Literature of the Kymry" (1849), Gweirydd ap Rhys's "Haues y Brytaniaid a'r Cymry," 2 vols. (1872–74), "The Welsh People," under the joint editorship of the late Sir John Rhys of Oxford and Sir David Brynmor Jones. "A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest," by Professor J. E. Lloyd, was published in 1911, which, like the productions we have quoted, shows a scrupulous regard for accuracy and for facts. It is a valuable work, and of permanent interest.

A century later than Theophilus Evans, there appeared "A Welsh History of Wales," from the pen of another Welsh Churchman, Thomas Price (1787–1848), known as

"Carnhuanawc," giving an account of the country and its inhabitants from the earliest ages to the death of Prince Llewelyn ab Gruffydd. Price was a very talented man, with quite an exceptional aptitude for historical literature. He does not appear to have gone into history in order to fortify preconceived opinions and prejudices, but to find facts; and there can be no question as to his sincerity. He also wrote "An Essay on the Physiognomy and Physiology of the Present Inhabitants of Britain," and he was instrumental in having the New Testament translated into the Breton language.

There also appeared an "Essay on the Welsh Saints," by his contemporary, Rice Rees (1804–1839), a scholarly Welsh clergyman, who was appointed Professor of Welsh at St. David's College, Lampeter, in 1827. Price was co-editor of the "Liber Landavensis," and one of the revisers of the Welsh Common Prayer-book. It has, however, to be stated that much of the phraseology in the Welsh Prayer-book is stiff, and beyond the comprehension of the great majority of Welsh Anglican worshippers. The style of some of the exhortations is so involved, that but few, if any, of the Welsh who hear them read can follow their meaning. Many of the rubrics are much more obscure than they are in English. What suited Wales in years past may not suit present-day Wales. An effort should be made to render the language of the Prayer-book as plain and as clear as that of the Welsh Bible. The style of the Roman Catholic Welsh Prayer-book, published some years ago with the imprimateur of Cardinal Vaughan, is as faultless and idiomatic as that of any book of devotions published in the Welsh language.

The Church has given Wales at least five lexicographers worthy of mention in this treatment: namely, Dr. John Davies, Mallwyd, a seventeenth-century scholar and divine; Thomas Richards (1710–1790), who was for forty years curate of Coychurch and Coity, Glamorganshire; John Walters (1721–1797), who was Vicar of Llandaff and of St. Hilary, in Glamorganshire; Dr. Owen Pughe (1759–1835), and Silvan Evans (1818–1903).

Dr. John Davies assisted in the revision of the 1588

Bible; he was preferred by James I. to the living of Mallwyd in 1604. Though his Welsh-Latin and Latin-Welsh Dictionary was imperfect and incomplete, it met a great need, and proved very useful to Dr. Owen Pughe. It remained the standard dictionary of the language for over a century and a half.

Thomas Richards wrote "A Brief Introduction to the Ancient British or Welsh Language" in 1753, the eighth edition of which appeared in 1859. But his chief work was a Welsh-English Dictionary, published in 1753, to which he prefixed a Welsh Grammar.

John Walters's "English and Welsh Dictionary" was completed in 1794; a second edition appeared in 1815, a third in 1828. It was a superior production to that of Thomas Richards, showing a greater mastery of the idiom and phraseology of the Welsh language. He also wrote a "Dissertation on the Welsh Language," dealing with the antiquity, grammatical perfection and copiousness of the Welsh language, including some observations on Welsh poetry.

Dr. Owen Pughe spent eighteen years upon his Welsh-English Dictionary, which was published in 1803; though he wrote in the mean time a good deal on a variety of subjects. The foundation of his dictionary was laid when he was about twenty-seven years of age; it contains about 100,000 words, nearly twice as many as Dr. Johnson's English Dictionary, and about thirty thousand more than Webster's English Dictionary; the comparison affords an indication of the richness of the Welsh language. That Dr. Owen Pughe was immensely industrious, and a man of great literary and intellectual resources, may be gathered from the fact that he was also joint editor of the "Myvyrian Archæology," which appeared in 1801–7; and that he also translated Milton's "Paradise Lost" into Welsh, and published a Welsh Grammar in 1808. He wrote several other works of less importance, but all with a view of furthering the interests of the language and literature of Wales, and of promoting national culture.

Silvan Evans (1818–1903), who was a Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, was made priest in 1849; Canon of Bangor

in 1888, and was subsequently appointed to the chancellorship of Bangor Cathedral. Not only the Church, but Wales, owes much to him for his many valuable and arduous literary labours. He edited the works of the Rev. Walter Davies, better known as Gwallter Mechain (1761–1849), who was Vicar of Llanrhaiadr-yn-mochnaut, and who was a Welsh critic and author of considerable ability. Silvan Evans published editions of Stephens' "Literature of the Kymry;" Lewis Morris' "Celtic Remains," and Ellis Wynne; he also translated the Black Book of Carmarthen and the Book of Aneurin. But his most conspicuous work, for which he will be chiefly remembered, is his English-Welsh Dictionary, in two volumes, upon which he spent upwards of eleven years of the best period of his life. It is a work very suitable to the requirements of the Principality, and supplies a distinct need in Welsh literature. The object of the author was to represent by Welsh equivalents all the authorized words and the principal idioms of which the English language is composed. In giving the etymologies of the English words, he took Dr. Webster as his authority. He generously acknowledged his indebtedness to Dr. Owen Pughe, whose labours in this department proved exceedingly helpful to him. Silvan Evans stands out revealed as a great literary figure in the history of Wales, as well as a man of great practical activity.

How is the mentality of the Church reflected in the sermonic literature of Wales? It will suffice if we mention two of its most distinguished representatives. One is Lewis Bayly, who was Bishop of Bangor from 1616 to 1631. He is supposed to have been born at Carmarthen, though he was educated in England. His book, entitled "The Practice of Piety," had reached its fifty-ninth edition in 1735; the Welsh translation by Rowland Vaughan, of Caer Gai, Bala, a seventeenth-century prose and poetic writer, under the Welsh title, "Yr Ymarfer i Dduwioldeb," published in 1630, had passed through five editions before 1710. "The Practice of Piety" was a collection of sermons which Dr. Bayly had preached; their popularity testifies to the interest of the people in the spiritual and devotional aspects of religion and in Puritanical theology. Dr. Bayly was undoubtedly imbued with the Puritanical spirit,

though he was faithful to the Sacramental teaching of the Church, and a most pronounced opponent of Laud. His "Practice of Piety" was translated into French, Polish, and German, as well as into Welsh; also into the language of the Indians of the district of New England.

The other is Isaac Williams (1802–1865), a native of the district of Llanbadarn Fawr, Cardiganshire. In 1831 he was made a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; Dean of the College in 1833; Philosophical Lecturer in 1835; and vice-president in 1841. As a scholar, theologian, and philosopher, he was superior to Bishop Bayly. He belonged to the Tractarian School, and as a devotional writer he ranked, as Haddan said, "amongst the soundest and most thoughtful of the writers of the Church of England." He was also a writer of sacred verse; some of his hymns were included in "Hymns Ancient and Modern." Among his principal works may be mentioned "Lyra Apostolica," "Thoughts in Past Years"; "On the Hebrews"; "Tracts for the Times, and Plain Sermons," ten volumes; and "Old Testament Characters." Several of his works were published after his death: among them being his "Thoughts on the Study of the Holy Bible"; "The Harmony of the Four Evangelists"; "Our Lord's Nativity"; "The Holy Week."

Dr. Rowland Williams (1817–1870), to whom we have already referred, wrote a work entitled "Rational Godliness after the Mind of Christ," a "Review of Bunsen's Biblical Researches," and a book of sermons, called "Broad Chalke Sermon-Essays."

It is when we consider the question of the contribution of the Church to that department of theology, called Apologetics, that we come to the most unproductive and uninteresting part of its history. It is in vain that we look for the answer of the intellect of the Church to the demand for evidences of Christianity. True, the evidences are not all in the books of the apologists; they must be in life before men can recite their history. The lives of Christians are, after all, the living epistles. But books on Apologetics, with their array of internal and external evidences, are essential. Yet the record of the Church in this department is barren; it has created practically

nothing. Surely it cannot be said that Welsh Churchmen have not possessed sufficient knowledge or historical culture, or that they have not been theological in thought and feeling, for like most Welshmen they have been for generations under the dominion of theological ideas. The truth is, that the Welsh clergy have simply echoed the thoughts and ideas of Anglo-Catholic theologians in England. The books of Welsh Nonconformist ministers dealing with this and other aspects of theology, especially their published sermons, are to be found on the shelves of many a Welsh clergyman, though Nonconformity cannot point to a single master or authority in any branch of theology. But there have been signs of a creative effort among some educated and talented Nonconformist ministers.

There is in existence a translation of "The Truths of the Christian Religion" from the Latin of Hugo Grotius, which was published by Edward Samuel (1674–1748), who was Vicar of Llangar at the time of his death. Also a work on "The Evidences of Christianity deduced from Facts and the Testimony of Sense," by Dr. William Worthington (1704–1778), who was made Prebendary of St. Asaph in 1773, and presented to a stall in York Minster by Archbishop Drummond. He wrote many other theological works, among them being an "Essay on the Scheme and Conduct, Procedure and Extent of Man's Redemption," and a book entitled "The Historical Sense of the Mosaic Account of the Fall proved and Vindicated."

Morris Williams (1809–1874), "Nicander," who was Rector of Llanrhyddlad, Anglesey, when he died, translated Paley's "Evidences of Christianity." He also published a new metrical version of the Psalms, a translation in verse. But it is doubtful whether any of these theological translations are ever consulted by those who may happen to possess copies of them. Indeed, the men who are conversant with old Welsh literature in any of its departments are comparatively few.

Summing up the labours of this cohort of writers and investigators, what is the conclusion? That a great amount of high ability has been spent by Churchmen in the past

upon the language and literature of Wales. They were men of a different, though sympathetic genius. A few of them had been technically educated, and had succeeded by virtue of their learning and literary gifts in drawing outside attention to themselves. It is a striking fact that so many of them should have received their education at Oxford. When we consider the number of Welshmen who have graduated in that ancient seat of learning, especially at Jesus College, we find that the debt Wales owes to it, is very great.

Some of these writers and investigators had never been inside a university or a college, but they were recruited from the best-thinking ability of the country and of their time; the activity of some of them was extraordinary. We do not think it could be justly said of any of their number that notoriety, or the immediate impression, was the thing of importance. Some of them achieved a distinction which did not end with their death, and which time has not diminished; some who gained instant and wide popularity have failed to gain permanent consideration. Of most of them it can be said that they did not enjoy, during their lifetime, the harvest of reward and gratitude which was their due; and what honour has since been paid to their memory is as cold and as meaningless as an epitaph on a tombstone. They wrote under the sense that they would not be gratefully remembered.

Public estimate of literary men, as of statesmen, has always been very capricious; it has been circumscribed and determined by the duration of the phase of language, or civilization, to which their fame belonged; or by the fact that, like Goronwy Owen, they had come an age too soon; or by the popularity of the cause which they espoused; or by the character of the work to which their energies were devoted. It is not the names of those who are most worthy of recognition, or who have rendered the literature of their country the most enduring service, that are remembered or placed on record. Of the truth of this, some of the men with whom we have been dealing afford conspicuous examples. Writers who have a mind to do the purest work must prepare themselves to forfeit immediate and popular recognition. Shelley

was ostracized by society; he never lived to see his works read; but unlike some of the more obscure men in this catalogue of Welsh names, he had private means to fall back upon. Wordsworth was only recognized and honoured when he was an old man. Contemporary celebrity is often cheaply purchased, and often as easily lost.

To the historian or educated man of to-day a good many of these literary pioneers may seem somewhat archaic. But the fact that the orthography of some of these writers was by no means consistent—a common fault in those times; that much of what some of them wrote has since been found wanting in historical accuracy; that their ability to sift and to balance evidence was not as scientific as one might have wished, does not lessen the obligation which Wales, and Welsh investigators to-day, owe to them. Their aim seems to us to have been to direct the attention of their countrymen towards the consideration of the claims of the Welsh language, and of Welsh history, rather than to produce exact scholarship. Even when judged by the standard of this day, some of them may be regarded as craftsmen of high order. As to their industry, disinterestedness, and sacrifices, there are but few in Wales now who would care to imitate them.

It should also be remembered that they belonged to a different and an older epoch in the annals of Wales, an epoch which represented a more imperfect and a less advanced stage of education and civilization. A new epoch obliterates, to some extent, an older one; and it often obliterates the memory of those who sacrificed most in and for it. This is what every new epoch does, more or less, with the one that preceded it. There is nothing that Welshmen need more than to place themselves in a right mental attitude towards the elementary points in the making of Wales as it is; and towards the earlier efforts to collect and to classify the facts of Cymric history. These early writers left behind them a large quantity of useful material, which has formed the basis for further and more fruitful investigation.

It is no discredit that the notions of history held and formulated by some of them have since been recast, or that

much of the kind of literature which they produced and translated was of an ephemeral character, though highly suitable to the mentality and the requirements of their age. The history of human nature is—and it is the history of every race of people—that it cannot live in the same mood for ever; that it is only capable of a certain number of certain acts, and of manifesting a certain number of certain emotions. Hence it is that what interests one age does not interest another, and that literature changes its topics periodically. It would be safe to say that many of the subjects dealt with by this old group of Welsh writers, especially of a devotional character, and that translations from Milton's "Paradise Lost," and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," would not be suitable themes for the Wales of to-day. It is questionable whether they will ever be taken up again. Whereas, in times past, purely religious influence was stronger than the ethical; in Wales to-day the influence of the ethical is stronger than the religious; the truth is, that the one is fast superseding the other. Works of the higher imagination are receding more and more; the genius of this age moves in a different direction. Now that Wales is in a bi-lingual condition, translations of the nature mentioned are out of date. Welsh writers who are looking for notoriety must essay other fields of literature. There is less scope in Wales, because there is less demand and less ability in that direction, for the lyrical, the epical, and the devotional reproduction of moods, passions, and life. There is a larger scope than ever for Welsh history; it is bound to be more fully and clearly understood as time goes on, and it will take a wider range.

These early investigators could not start from the standpoint of the literary investigator of the present day. But when we consider what they did without the aid of so many of the works of reference, and of the critical editions that are now available; in an age when there was no National Library or University College; when Welsh records were more imperfect and had not been arranged; it is difficult to imagine what they would not have attempted and accomplished if they lived now under present conditions. It is to their credit

that they had the instinct of genius to take the right subjects; that they opened up new regions for the exploration of later investigators; that they did so much to invest a small country and its literature with interest, and with a measure of dignity and justifiable pride.

CHAPTER VII

THE PLACE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHURCH IN THE PULPIT LIFE OF WALES

The Welsh, like the Greeks of old, have always been keenly sensitive to the power of eloquence and to any innovation in religious teaching. This has been peculiarly the case since the religious awakening of the eighteenth century, which was followed by a great development in the art of pulpit oratory. It would be true to say that preaching has been a more potent force in influencing Welsh national feeling than either poetry, music, education, or philosophy. Indeed, Wales has had little philosophy, as such. Poetry has not had the same share as music in awakening and moulding the higher feelings of the people, and it is less potent now than ever. The Welsh poet of to-day is not, as a poet, of much account. Certain kinds of poetry seem to have become impossible, while others appear to have been practically exhausted. There can be no doubt that fancy and imagination are not so fruitful as they used to be in their own particular department—poetry.

This may be due, partly, to the fact that science has been gradually pressing the higher imagination into her service. Wales reflects the modern spirit which has ceased to have any use for certain classes of poetry, such, for instance, as the pastoral and lyrical, so great has been the change in social thought and relations. In fact, of no period in the history of modern Wales could it be said that the productions of Welsh poets have played the same part in the cultivation of Welsh moral life and mental equipment, as the productions of English poets in England.

As to education, its pioneers in Wales have been largely

found among the preachers of the Gospel. Eloquent and powerful men like Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, as well as other Anglican and Nonconformist divines who followed him, led the way in creating a desire for knowledge, in establishing schools, and in perfecting the Welsh system of education. But so great, constant, and all-pervading, has been the influence of pulpit oratory in Wales, that it would be impossible to form any general or satisfactory conception of the mentality, ethical ideas, and social habits of the people, without giving it primary consideration.

It has been claimed by some enthusiastic Welshmen that preaching has filled a larger and a more important place in the modern life of Wales, than in the modern life of England. As a matter of fact, however, this is more apparent than real. Wales has, historically speaking, led a narrower and less varied life than England. She has had fewer opportunities to cultivate different forms of thought; and the unfolding of the common intelligence has been slower and more circumscribed. During past generations the pulpit has drawn to itself the best intellects of the nation, chiefly for the reason that it was about the only sphere in which Welshmen could distinguish themselves. It has not been so in England or in Scotland. Also, while Wales can justly claim a large number of very capable preachers, and a few of transcendent excellence who attained a high standard of knowledge in theology, and who could be described as scholars in the strict sense of the term, she cannot bear comparison with England or with Scotland.

Wales has not produced any preachers who could be classed with Frederick Robertson of Brighton, Dean Farrar, R. W. Dale of Birmingham, Dr. Joseph Parker, Charles Haddon Spurgeon, John Knox, Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Guthrie, and Dr. Norman Macleod. It need hardly be said that the range of the influence of the English and Scottish pulpits has been infinitely greater than that of the Welsh pulpit; the influence of the latter upon the trend of theological thought outside the Principality has been nil. Welsh theologians have been transcribers rather than creators. When we compare English and Scottish with Welsh theological and

religious thought as a world force, and as it relates to the general progress in Biblical knowledge and criticism and the larger life of Europe, Wales does not count at all.

This is not to deny that a great amount of very high ability has been spent in Wales, and by Welshmen out of Wales, upon preaching and the art of pulpit oratory. In no part of the United Kingdom has preaching been invested with greater reverence and sincerity on the one hand, and with greater coarseness and flamboyancy on the other, than in Wales; and in no other department of Welsh thought and life has the essential characteristic of the Welsh genius been so much in evidence; by this we mean the habitual tendency to descend from the sublime to the commonplace. While it would be too much to say of the Welsh, what Cleon said of the Athenians, that the love of fine speeches had been their ruin; yet, there can be no doubt that such has been the lust of their ear and tongue, that a glowing peroration has often been accepted as an atonement for the want of straightforward action on recognized principles. Play-acting on the platform and even in the pulpit, in the form of emotional apoplexy, has been made in Wales an avenue to public recognition and advancement.

What is the secret of the fact that pulpit oratory of every description has had such an attraction for Welshmen? Unquestionably, the idea of the sacredness of the office has been one of the primary factors; so powerful has been its action that in times past it has enabled the pulpit to set up a sort of iron despotism in the sphere of religion and religious thought and practice. Of recent years its ascendancy has been modified, even controlled, by other and counteracting influences, with the result that the power of the pulpit is by no means so diffusive or so absolute as in former years. Also, as we have already suggested, flights of the imagination and oratorical flourishes have always appealed to the Welsh people; they have cared less for facts, logical precision, and clear comprehension, than they have cared for the artful turns of rhetoric, and the seductive adroitness of the political or religious controversialist. One could never imagine Wales being the recognized home of logic; for intellectual veracity

and scientific exactness cannot be said to be a fundamental constituent of the Welsh character.

The Welsh are a people who have been too easily influenced by appeals to the feelings, and to political and sectarian prejudices; they have been too prone to mistake frothiness for solidity, fervency for earnestness, and volubility for eloquence. It does not require much imagination to conceive that the potentialities of the pulpit among a race of people of such mentality and temperament have been incalculable; hardly a limit could be set to what a preacher of a suitable temperament might do. It is not strange that crowds of anxious, expectant, and excitable people should have flocked to hear a popular divine; and, human nature being what it is, it is not strange that preachers in their eagerness for notoriety should have sought to excite and to enlarge the range of such feelings, turning anywhere and everywhere for something that would rouse them; affecting a style which was, in reality, but the hypocrisy of style; seeking to create excitement rather than conviction; dealing in flabby utterances that lacked muscle and blood; priding themselves on a form of eloquence that lacked the most essential requisite of eloquence—sincerity; not knowing that they were the conductors of mere feeling rather than the conductors of spiritual force. Hence it is that the impatience of the more educated and reflecting of the present generation with this style and method of preaching, has become decisive and uncontrolled. Nothing falls into contempt quite undeservedly. Sermons that are worthy of respect will continue to be respected, and they are being respected in Wales to-day even by those who do not believe that the sermon was destined to occupy a supreme place in Christian worship.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that all Welsh preachers have been men of this inferior type, or that the ordinance of public preaching has appealed to the Welsh people solely on the ground of emotion, theatrical action, and the intonation of the voice. Wales has had many preachers, and she still has a few, of a different and nobler type; preachers who acted the part of instructors to the people, and who sought to persuade by reason and argument. They did

not ignore the feeling, but they sought to control, guide, and direct it towards some high and definite end. They studiously avoided the more subtle of all the temptations that beset preachers, namely, the tendency to rely on human aids for the accomplishment of their spiritual object; yet they were masters of pulpit oratory.

They were masters because they possessed the essential requisites of true and effective pulpit oratory: lucidity, force, earnestness, self-control, grace, sympathy, catholicity of spirit, and studied order. Their sermons were laid out on an elaborate framework of divisions and sub-divisions, which ensured thoroughness of treatment and prevented inconclusive meandering. To preachers so naturally fluent, this studied order proved a most useful check on excessive verbosity. When they had made their point clear, they moved on. This was one of the characteristics of their preaching—sound common sense. Another was their determination to make the people acquainted with the Bible as a whole; their statements were often buttressed by texts from the Scriptures. A large portion of their preaching was expository; some of them made the allegorical interpretation of the Bible fruitful and illuminating, though they did not always keep within reasonable bounds.

A good many of their discourses were of an apologetic character; that is, they were designed to strengthen the faith of the people in Christianity and its doctrines; to remove tendencies to doubt, both spiritual and intellectual; to justify the ways of God to man in the matter of the final doom of the impenitent, by seeking to show that His justice is as perfect as His mercy; to prove the reasonableness and the efficacy of prayer, the certainty of the resurrection of the body, and the final triumph of Christ over Satan. Unusual emphasis was laid on the physical sufferings of Christ and the propitiatory nature of the Atonement, and on the necessity of the death of Christ to appease the wrath of an offended God. Emphasis was also laid on the sterner and darker aspects of dogma, though the milder and sweeter aspects were often dwelt upon, and there was tenderness and love in their message. If they acquiesced in and justified the doom of the

lost, it was with sorrow; but one would occasionally hear sentiments that appeared hard, almost inhuman.

They took a wide field; not only did they deal with the Scriptures on broad lines, but with the whole life of man both present and to come; they were courageous men, and they would be satisfied with nothing short of the standard of the Sermon on the Mount. Indeed, some of them might well be charged with rigorism. To dance, play cards, attend theatres, or perform labour on Sundays, was a mortal sin. To some of them the defence of their own particular tenets was an urgent matter, and the defences of one sect were often battered by the missiles of another sect; concord did not always prevail. The Papacy was always universally denounced, for they were all sons of the Reformation; a preacher who sought to undermine the prestige of the Holy See was on safe ground, for his hearers were Puritans to a man; the idea of Purgatory, whether in its penal or reforming aspect, they regarded as a heresy and with abhorrence.

It need scarcely be said that they were not all made after the same pattern, or that their sermons were not all modelled upon the same plan. Some had gestures, others had not; some were placid and steady until they came to the peroration, others were animated from the beginning; some had periodic rounds upon which the congregation could reckon, others had no beaten paths; some had the application in full view all the time, others developed it gradually; some used notes, others discarded them. Some of the preachers had repeated their discourses so often in different districts that they could hardly miss a sentence, a word, or a period. Some of them were men of learning, others who did not bear the hall-mark of culture had been endowed with a marvellous spiritual insight that put them on a level with the most learned.

They never preached save for the sake of God's honour and praise, and for the highest good of the people. They did not neglect the reason of the intellectual man, nor the affections of the emotional man. They adapted themselves to the different minds and moods of their hearers; fearfully, yet tactfully, they proclaimed the truth as they understood it, and none could question their sincerity. The subjects that

they selected were subjects that had moved their own souls, which explains the reason that they were able to move others; they were eloquent without trying to be eloquent, because they had an inspired message.

This is the past; what of the future? It seems difficult to predict that the future of the sermon in Wales will be as bright as its past. It cannot be said that the sermon as such occupies the place of honour to the same degree now as in years past; very seldom conversion is known in these times to follow the delivery of a sermon. Indeed, the fact of conversion finds hardly any place in the Welsh sermonic literature of to-day. For some considerable time Wales has been witnessing a diminution of the social and moral influence of the preacher, as well as of the sermon, and a gradual and growing change towards a lower level of eloquence in the pulpit.

This may be due partly to the fact that public speaking is more generally practised than it was. Education may have something to do with it, for the reason that it takes very little account of individuality. The rise of industrialism has so changed the tone of Welsh society that the influence of deep religious feeling and exalted intellectual energy, is not now of such paramount importance in moulding individual character and directing public action. Also appeals to the feeling are less valued then a clear and reasonable presentation of truth, and religious conviction is being rapidly replaced by sentimental morality; imagination and fancy are either being circumscribed or are looking for new worlds to occupy. There is a different thinking public. If we may assume a further and more serious diminution in the place and power of the sermon and the pulpit in Welsh national life, it is difficult to see what can take their place.

True, a solid, practical, and effective preacher, even if he is not eloquent in the ordinary sense of the term, will experience no difficulty in finding a keen and appreciative audience; the desire for religious knowledge, instruction, and inspiration, is still felt. But it is also felt that the pulpit must change its character and enlarge its range by applying Christian ethics to all the problems and occasions of life;

this is particularly the case among the working classes. They have a suspicion that the clergy and ministers are wanting either in courage or capacity. The middle-class congregation is always ready to give a hearing to an intelligent and educated preacher who can re-state and re-discuss the mysteries of Christianity in a reasoned and helpful manner, and who will fearlessly deal with the central questions of the Christian religion. The important question is, whether Wales will find or produce the men that will be equal to the needs of the new Wales. The conditions of modern life are not favourable to the development of pulpit oratory of the dual kind. It seems certain that it will never again be the power it used to be until Wales shall have undergone her translation and become English in speech.

In view of this discussion what, we may ask ourselves, has been the contribution of the Church to pulpit oratory in Wales? It has to be conceded that the range of its influence has not been commensurate with that of Welsh Nonconformity, and it has been differently complexioned. It may be said of the Anglican Church in Wales as of Calvinistic Methodism, that it has not paid sufficient attention to pulpit oratory and style in the presentation of Gospel truth. The best matter when not put in the best manner must lose in force.

It is the Altar rather than the Pulpit that the Church has exalted. It has been a part of its policy to discourage the belief that preaching constitutes the whole, or the most important part of Christian worship. Among the Nonconformists preaching is almost everything; they hold that preaching is the chief means ordained of God for the conversion of mankind; the idea of worship is a secondary one, and the Holy Communion occupies a subordinate position; the central conception is preaching. Among Churchmen it is the idea of worship rather than preaching that has been, and continues to be, regarded as the essential feature in religion; to be religious is to worship—and to worship is to be religious. The Welsh Churchman attends church not for the sake of the sermon, but in order to participate in the service. Not that he depreciates the sermon as such, or that he attaches no

importance to the pulpit; for preaching has a power that nothing else has of making bad men good and good men better; of making the profane holy and the unreal true. What would have become of the Christian Faith if there had been no preaching? It is questionable whether men would know what sin is but for the preaching of the Word.

The Church has ordained that there shall be preaching every Sunday; it may be little or much, but some there must be. The tradition is that there must be an exposition of the passage of the Scripture appointed to be read as the Epistle or the Gospel of the day. This, however, limits the field of the preacher, who is expected to use the Epistles and the Gospels as pegs on which to hang a disquisition. He ought to be given his freedom to preach in his own way on subjects that appeal to him, or on themes that he may consider suitable to the moral and intellectual conditions of his parishioners.

St. Chrysostom, the renowned Presbyter of Antioch, and afterwards Bishop of Constantinople, who, "for overpowering eloquence," says Mosheim, "has no equal among the fathers," frequently had his subject suggested to him by something he met on his way to church, or which suddenly occurred during divine service. As he himself says, he heard a Christian disputing with a Greek in relation to the intellectual superiority of Paul and Plato; the Christian maintaining the superiority of the former over the latter, and the Greek of the latter over the former. On arriving at church Chrysostom made this a text for a sermon on the evident superhuman character of the Christian religion, as attested by the weak and inadequate weapons—from a merely human point of view—with which it went forth to assail the hoary civilizations and long-established religions of Greece and Rome, with all their formidable array of learning, military power, social status, and other forces of the world which were at their disposal.

Chrysostom is not the only example that might be quoted. One of the most powerful sermons, it has been said, that Henry Ward Beecher ever preached from the pulpit of Plymouth Church was on *Profanity*, a subject that was suggested to him suddenly on his way into the vestry on a

hot summer's day, by a certain expression used by some one regarding the intensity of the heat. To preach the everlasting Gospel is not merely to preach on the Epistles or the Gospels which are set forth in the service of the day, according to the season. These Epistles and Gospels, together with the entire Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testaments, are the everlasting Gospel.

Though Welsh Churchmen have pointed to the Altar rather than to the pulpit, and have been careful to cultivate chiefly the sense of worship, they have at all times shown a keen appreciation of the gift of preaching; to them preaching has been indispensable; and indispensable in order to uphold, interpret, and propagate the doctrines of the Church; to them religion and doctrine are nearly allied. Like Nonconformity, the Church has had good and indifferent preachers, as every one knows. There have been sermons in the Church that one has had to listen to without feeling very much better for them afterwards; there have been others that had a soul as well as a body, an inner essence as well as an outer form; just what sermons ought to be—helps for inducing devout moods, for clarifying the spiritual vision, for revealing Scriptural truth in a clearer light; sermons with a strong ethical backbone in them.

Indeed, the Church can boast of a roll of honourable names in the history of its pulpit; preachers who were distinguished not only for their high intellectual accomplishments, their burning zeal, and their ability to impress the truth they had to utter upon the minds and consciences of those whom they had periodically to address, but also for their saintliness, their catholic and patriotic spirit, and their sympathetic interest in all that touched and affected the interests of the people.

If we seek examples of that type of oratory which consists in the stringing together of high-sounding words, and in the construction of harmonious and well-balanced sentences, which is overborne and carried away by feeling and by flights of fancy, we do not find many in the records of the Church in Wales; nor have we witnessed in the Anglican churches any of those scenes which we have often witnessed in

Nonconformist churches, when some of the hearers forgot their surroundings, sprang to their feet, broke out into rapturous rejoicings, and even waved their handkerchiefs in token of their accord with the preacher. Some of these scenes savoured more of the theatre than of the decorous deportment becoming the House of God.

We do not remember a single instance when such manifestations were restrained, suppressed, or condemned. It would be true to say that they were sometimes welcomed and encouraged. Such scenes have been witnessed in Wales during the last twenty or thirty years. They may seem sadly incongruous with the English notion of religious propriety, though such scenes were by no means uncommon in the days of Chrysostom. But it was by no infidelity to truth on his part, no sycophantic pandering to popular passion and prejudice, that evoked such manifestations when he preached. It was his earnest presentation of the truth in all its phases, and his bold denunciation of the prevailing corruptions in every rank of society, not excepting the palace itself, that eventually led to his banishment from Constantinople, and ultimately to his death in exile.

It would be unjust not to say that there have been exceptional ministers among the Welsh Nonconformists who did not strive to evoke such manifestations of feeling; preachers of great power and eloquence whose motives were above suspicion; who suffered rather than encouraged such tendencies. The Anglican system of worship does not permit of such manifestations; it does not lay the same stress as Nonconformity on the emotional side of religion. Still, if eloquence, as Vinet says, is an appeal to sympathy, if its secret consists in distinguishing and seizing upon those parts in the souls of others which correspond to our own and to every soul; if its object is to lay hold of the hand which, unconsciously, the people are holding out, it cannot be doubted that the Church supplies examples of preachers of the most commanding eloquence; the type of eloquence which does not depend for its power to move and to attract merely upon the voice or the intonation of the voice, or upon oratorical flourishes and gestures; but the eloquence which is born of

conviction and is the outcome of a deeply spiritual nature, which is kept under control by an intellect of sober, solid strength. Those of them whose figures bulk out the largest had developed a remarkable homiletic gift; their discourses were full of fresh earnestness, and had some touches of uncommon power.

It is worthy of note that they were all men of the evangelical type, as were all the preachers who made an impression upon the pulpit life of Wales, both in the Church and in Nonconformity. As to their theological position, it is interesting to observe that the evangelical clergy of the eighteenth and even of the nineteenth century who kindled the enthusiasm of the Welsh people, stereotyped, unwillingly it may be, the popular theology which was founded on the characteristic tenets of Calvinism, though not, perhaps, in the undiluted form in which they were embraced and taught by nearly all the dissenting ministers. But no religious ministry in Wales in those days was acceptable unless it was sound after the Geneva pattern.

What of their culture? If conduct is three-fourths of life, culture is one-fourth; and in estimating a man or a group of men, this must be taken into account, for its own sake and for the influence it has upon conduct. By culture, in reference to the individual, we mean his knowledge; his intellectual tastes; his attitude towards books, which is the chief though not the only means of culture, and his attitude towards the fine arts, such as music, for instance. Also, his judgment of men and his view of life; his temper, and his table-talk, which never belie psychology, for they are unconscious displays of the man and of the nature he has.

Of those who come under our notice, as well as of many others, it may be truly said that they bore the hall-mark of culture; they were among the best-read men of their own generation; not only had they read much, but they had read widely and critically. That they had read the history of their own Church with thoroughness and to some purpose, is proved by the manner in which they championed its interests; true, they were sometimes charged with being biased by preconceived ideas. But if they had strong convictions, and if they

expressed them with courage, they were no narrow fanatics; some of them were not narrow enough to suit some tastes; but they were all men of refreshing unreserve, vitality, and living interest.

To say that only a few of their number could be designated orators is to say nothing that reduces their worth; indeed, it may be to their credit, for Wales has had enough and to spare of Ciceronian oratory in the pulpit. If they were not all orators they spoke well, and preached better than they spoke. There was something in their utterances which is far more important than eloquence; that is, urbanity, delicate spirituality, wise discernment, and the power that is wielded by what George Sand spoke of in one of her novels "sweetness joined to an unfaltering will."

Their ambition in regard to the Welsh people was not to excite their feelings unduly, or to trade upon their feelings for personal, ecclesiastical, or political ends; but to stir them into nobleness; to fire their souls with the highest ideals of Christian service; to animate them with patriotic fervour and with love of Fatherland. Their ambition with regard to their own Church was to make it in fact all that it is in its highest ideal; that is, a truly Catholic Church in action as well as in theory; a vigorous active society, full of sap, full of life, and full of fire; living the life that its beautiful forms imply; adapting itself to every age as it comes along.

Griffith Jones of Llanddowror (1683–1761), with whose life and work we have dealt in a previous chapter, is known chiefly for his services to elementary education in Wales, and for his efforts to restore and popularize the catechetical form of teaching, in consequence of his discovery of the appalling ignorance of the people respecting the doctrines, and even the simplest truths of religion. So much stress has, however, been laid upon his efforts to institute free schools for the education of the poor, that his effectiveness as a preacher has been to some extent overlooked. Undoubtedly, he possessed the requisites of a powerful and a successful preacher; that is, fervid and commanding eloquence, with which he was wont to move and sway the multitudes, as the growing corn is moved and swayed by the passing over it of a strong wind.

We are told that when on a mission tour, no less than four or five thousand people would sometimes gather to hear him; and when the church could not accommodate the congregation he would address them in the churchyard, standing on a tombstone or on the greensward. His fame had spread far and wide, and those who heard him felt that he was a preacher endowed with the richest powers of pulpit oratory. In addition to his gift of speech, he was a man of severe spiritual culture; his knowledge of the Bible was extraordinary, so was his ability to interpret the Bible and to convey its message in terms that could be understood by the most ignorant and uncultivated among his congregation. He could transfuse his own glowing thoughts and emotions into all his hearers.

The illustrative comment upon the truth of this statement, is supplied by the fact that when he unexpectedly attended the great festivals which were held at certain seasons of the year, but which unhappily degenerated into riotous and profligate proceedings, he would at first find the assembled multitudes in a turbulent mood; but by degrees they would become serious and attentive, and sometimes would even weep aloud. Such was the magnetism of his personality, the impressiveness of his voice and manner, his impassioned style, and his inimitable tenderness, that the most unruly were restrained under his preaching.

If the Clergy and the Church of to-day have anything to learn from this apostolic preacher, it is that he never forgot what preaching was meant to be and to do. His problem was the problem of the evangelist; that is, the conversion of those who had not already surrendered themselves to Christ. He taught that the first duty—not the whole, but the first duty—of the Church is the duty of evangelization; and that however much the Church may excel in its form of service, or as an ethical school, if it fails in this it has missed its chief calling.

Not that Griffith Jones was indifferent to the dignity of worship, for he taught his own congregation how to take their respective parts in the responses provided for them; and his biographer tells us that it distressed him to hear the prayers of the Church read in a hurried, trifling, or unfeeling manner;

or in a pompous and affected spirit. He himself was a man of serious and reverent demeanour.

Looking at him all round, and judging him by the social, moral, and intellectual standard of those times, it is not going too far to say that he was a true "Knight of the Holy Ghost;" doing doughty and successful battle—both by his pure and sanctified life and by his glowing rhetoric—against the various forms of ignorance, disorder, and profligacy with which Welsh society at that time was seething and weltering.

The Rev. David Jones (1736–1810) the revivalist preacher, was made Vicar of Llangan (Glamorgan) in 1768; seven years after the death of Griffith Jones. He was then thirty-two years of age, and it is not unnatural to suppose that he had heard Griffith Jones preach and had read his tracts. It is said, though on what authority we do not know, that Daniel Rowland of Llangeitho ascribed his conversion to a certain sermon preached by Griffith Jones; and that the Rev. Peter Williams, author and publisher of the first Welsh Family Bible, and of a Welsh Concordance to the Welsh Bible (who was a contemporary of Griffith Jones, David Jones, and Rowland of Llangeitho), attributed his first religious impression to his visit to Llanddowror, when his mother used to carry him as a child to hear Griffith Jones preach.

David Jones was ordained in 1758. He having held the curacies of Llanafanfawr (Breconshire), Tydweilog (Carnarvonshire), Trefethin and Caldicot (Monmouthshire), where he first manifested his religious fervour, took a curacy near Bristol, and afterwards another in Wiltshire. When at the last place he made the acquaintance of Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, through whose recommendation he was made vicar of Llangan. After his second marriage he went to live at his wife's home at Manorowen (Pembrokeshire). Soon after going to Llangan he identified himself with the evangelical party in South Wales, of which Daniel Rowland of Llangeitho was the leader, and became a regular attendant at the meetings of the Welsh Methodist Association, which had been founded by Whitefield's aid, in 1742. He subsequently visited Lady Huntingdon's College at Trevecca, and was a constant preacher at her chapels, particularly at that

in Spa Fields (London) where, at her death in 1791, he preached the funeral sermon.

David Jones closely identified himself with Methodist reformers. He was in the habit of attending their quarterly meetings and associations; he even presided over them and helped in the arrangement made to build chapels in various localities. He witnessed no less than five revivals during his public life, and among the contributors to their influences he occupies a historic place. Most of his journeyings were accomplished on horseback; it is therefore surprising to find the long distances he covered during his preaching missions. He was not an advocate of the severance of the Calvinistic Methodists from the Church; he even severely criticized his contemporaries' advocacy of it. His loyalty to the Church was beyond question, though he felt it his duty during his itineraries to put in an appearance at the various Methodist societies and associations, and to preach in their chapels. It was not until 1811 that the disruption was complete.

The Rev. Howell Davies (1719–1770), called "the Apostle of Pembrokeshire," was also a contemporary of these notable Welshmen. It is very remarkable that such a group of religious geniuses should have flourished during the same period; a period pregnant with great events, out of which the regeneration of Wales grew. While it would be too much to say that it stands out supreme in the religious history of Wales, it possesses a distinctive character and import in that it decided the style and theological complexion of Welsh sermonic literature and Welsh pulpit oratory for many generations. To this period we assign the birth o Welsh hymnology, when hymns began to take their place among the Welsh people.

We regard it with something that is much more than intellectual curiosity, for the reason that it was a period of great social as well as of religious significance; its social significance can hardly be over-estimated. It is easier to raise a storm than to guide it; to initiate a movement than to control and direct it.

All periods of transition are periods of peril. In passing from an old system to a new one, or from an old to a new

phase of thought and feeling, the people need restraint as well as inspiration, otherwise they may drift no one knows whither. Not only did these notable men of their day reach the hearts of the masses of the people, but they guided them through their reason and what degree of intelligence they possessed. They disciplined them by causing them to revise their ethical standards; by showing the advantages of good order in society; by teaching the civil duties of Christians. These men and their successors were the unpaid police of the Principality, a fact which bears witness to the excellence of their mind and heart; to their fitness for practical organization, as well as their fitness to be the spiritual guides of men. Various and divergent as were their gifts, they were admirably fitted to complement each other.

They had no worldly advantage with which to fortify their position or to enforce their authority. They had sprung from obscurity; their origin was humble and their means scanty, so was their education when judged by the standard and equipment of to-day. They were learned in the lore of the people rather than the school. Great theologians they were not; but great religious teachers they were beyond a doubt, and they had the strength that comes to every man from the consciousness that he has the recognized right to teach.

Howell Davies is less known to modern readers than Rowland of Llangeitho, Howell Harris, or Jones of Llangan, and less known that he ought to be. Intellectually and spiritually, he stands in the same relation to the movement as the most noted among its promoters; he was not a mere follower, but a leader. He was one of the main agents in developing those ideas of the supreme grace of God in men's salvation, and justification through the merits of Christ appropriated by means of the believer's faith, quite apart from all works of the law, which formed the burden of the message of the revival movement. His native disposition, his training, and his experience inclined him towards the evangelical aspect of religion. He is singular in that he was allowed to retain his living in spite of the fact that he went beyond the limits of his own parish. He preached in every

part of Wales, and many parts of England. Being an ardent and loyal Churchman, he was never in revolt against its authority or its doctrine. His leanings were towards what is most spiritual and practical in the life of the Church.

But there is always a latent instinct of power in men that may be called out on occasion; and preachers like other men are influenced by the spirit of their times. If little is required of them, they will do little. The period in which Howell Davies lived was a great dramatic period, which connoted a quickening into new life on a national scale. Being a man of strong national feeling, great spiritual earnestness, and commanding eloquence, he felt that much was required of him, not only in his own parish but throughout Wales. Thus it was that he went forth prophet-like to rouse the conscience and kindle the religious enthusiasm of his fellow-countrymen, and multitudes gathered to hear him. He stands out revealed as a great preacher, an ardent lover of his country, and a devoted Churchman, whose earnestness was altogether for righteousness.

The Rev. David Parry (1794–1877), "Parry of Llywel," was known throughout the whole of Wales. He was a native of Breconshire and Vicar of Llywel in that county for a period of forty-two years. He was afterwards made Vicar of Defynock, near Brecon. So sweet was his voice and mellow his phrases, that he was called "Y Gloch Arian" (The Silver Bell). A "Parry of Llywel Scholarship," of the value of twenty pounds, tenable at Lampeter College, was founded in honour of his name.

"God's ambassadors," says Cowper, "are appointed to negotiate between Him and men." If there has ever been a minister of religion in Wales who fulfilled the ideal of an ambassador as nearly as it is possible for any man to fulfil it, that man was Parry of Llywel. If there has ever been a preacher whose lips were touched as with a "live coal from off the altar," surely his were touched; if the heart of any preacher has ever burned with a consuming desire to impress the truth of the love of God and the sacrifice and death of Christ upon his hearers, his heart did undoubtedly burn.

His passion to save was a divine impulse which gave him

no rest, and there was something in him that awed and subdued, which is, after all, the heart of preaching. He had the right message and the right way of delivering it; thus it was that he brought tears of remorse to the eyes of the unconverted, and tears of joy to the eyes of the converted. He was no lecturer or sycophant who sought to flatter, but a preacher born of God to convince, persuade, and console. The crowds that flocked to hear him testified to his popularity, and his popularity was of the kind that rests on sterling worth.

The Rev. John Griffith (1818–1885), of Merthyr, an old pupil of Ystradmeurig school, and a graduate of Christ College, Cambridge, was ordained in 1843. He acted for some time as tutor in the family of Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart., Hawarden; subsequently he became vicar of Aberdare, and finally of Merthyr. John Griffith was a man of great versatility of character. He had a certain shrewdness which served him well in the ultimate disposition of his life; yet he had none of that natural pride or mental detachment which made him inaccessible to the poor. In the distress caused by the colliery disasters which occurred in that district during his incumbency, the widow and the fatherless found in him a genuine and generous friend. He was a strenuous upholder of the rights of the Church, of which he was a distinguished ornament. He was a preacher of descriptive, almost dramatic excellence. None could question his earnestness. His pulpit style was clear and natural, and his discourses were eminently practical, showing much richness of thought and aptness of illustration.

Canon Daniel Evans (1833–1888) was curate at Merthyr from 1858 to 1860, and vicar of Carnarvon from 1876 to 1885. The degree of D.D. was conferred upon him in 1877 by the then Archbishop of Canterbury. Canon Evans was a typical Welsh preacher, which means that his sermons had a remarkable combination of pathos and tenderness, apt and natural poetic fancy, power of delineation, persuasiveness and fervid eloquence. His collection of Welsh Hymns for the use of the Church in Wales, which has passed through many editions, was in response to a definite practical requirement; it is still in use. But he never showed himself to better advantage

than in the powerful and eloquent speeches which he delivered in defence of the Church during the Disestablishment controversy; they were the trumpet call to faith, courage, and endurance on the part of Churchmen. Like Dean Edwards, with whom he was associated in that time of storm and stress, he rendered the Church valuable service.

Dean Edwards of Bangor (1837–1884) was Daniel Evans's junior by four years, and he died four years before him. If the function of the preacher is to stir men to noble actions rather than to excite their feelings, or to stir them to noble action through their highest feelings, then Dean Edwards takes his place among the best type of preachers that Wales has produced. His sermons never degenerated into artificialities; he never toned down his religious convictions so that they might fit in with the public taste, or glossed over prevailing sins so as not to give offence, or sacrificed truth in order to gain favour. To him there was nothing higher or better than truth; God is not higher than truth. Only when the love of truth is supreme can the human mind attain to what it ought to be.

Closely allied to his love of truth was his courage in denouncing injustice and all flagrant moral delinquencies in every rank of society. It is said that, while a curate at Llangollen, when he had been denouncing drunkenness in a very impassioned style from the pulpit, an old parishioner who felt annoyed said to him: "Why don't you preach like the old gentleman, your father? He gives us the pure Gospel, not anything personal, like you." But throughout his whole life there was the same bold and burning presentation of the truth which feared no man and no consequences; there was no sycophantic pandering to popular passions or prejudices. Strong, however, as was his love of truth, he had learned how to maintain it so as at the same time to make it invariably humane, merciful, and sympathetic.

He had great faith in the power and possibilities of the pulpit. No sweat of brain and heart could, he thought, be too great in the preparation and delivery of a sermon; this partly explains the fact that his own sermons were well thought out and committed to memory. Whether he preached in the cathedral or in a church in a remote and insignificant

parish, he never forgot that it was the preacher's duty to be true to himself, and to the message that had been committed to him.

Dean Edwards lived in a period of attrition, of division, of controversy, arising out of the Disestablishment movement; the combative conscience seems to have been the nerve of the Welsh religious community in those days. His oratorical gifts and his keen intellect were never more effectively used than in his defence of the Church. He strenuously disputed the argument that the movement was a step towards national unity, and that Disendowment could be justified on the ground of equity and righteousness, or that it would tend to the spread of virtue and true morality. He believed in the worship and the hereditary institutions of the Church; he was prepared not only to be a witness for them, but to suffer something for their maintenance. As his life shows, he represented the patriotic duty of Churchmen in those times.

Not that he disparaged Nonconformity; he believed that there was much about the sects which was winning and commendable. But judged upon a higher plane and by a spiritual law of truth and of justice, he held that in their attitude towards the Church they were not only selfish and unmindful of the history and work of the Church, but that their position was untenable from a moral and a Scriptural point of view, and that they were sinning against the nation's highest good. He believed in the necessity of appointing Welsh ministers from bishops downwards, and in the necessity for reforms in other directions. In these matters he was more patriotic than practical, and he was not always discreet. He also believed in the possibility of re-union between Dissent and the Church, though he confessed he might not live to see it.

His services to Higher Education are too well known to need any lengthy references, especially as we have already referred to them. But in all movements of a national character he was first and foremost; he threw himself into the Renaissance movement with a spirit that seems to us to have been as pure as it was patriotic. Play-acting on the platform, or in the pulpit, was foreign and abhorrent to his honest and straight-

forward nature. He received hard blows and gave them. To say that he was not without his faults and failings is simply to say that he was *human*, for "the best of men are but men at the best." But of the Welshmen who have revealed to Englishmen all that is best in the Welsh character, and all that is sanest in the aspirations of the Welsh nation as a whole, Dean Edwards will rank in history among the first and foremost.

If it is a part of a man's education to have in his intellect the colour, warmth, and inspiration that the sentiments and emotions give, then Dean Edwards was among the most educated of Welshmen. His reason and his argumentative qualities had been developed to a remarkable degree, and his reason had not become the rival and the substitute of the feelings, but only their educator and their friend. Whether we judge him by his culture, his intellectual qualities, his patriotism, his services to the Church, or by the influence which he wielded in his day, he is a landmark in the history of his country.

Archdeacon Griffiths of Neath (1820–1897) was a contemporary of Dean Edwards, and the two men had much in common; though they were differently trained and constituted, and though they belonged to different schools of thought, both longed for a larger measure of religious unity among the Welsh people. They were Welsh by birth, instinct, tradition and sympathies; they loved the native language and cultivated it. "I should like to get rid of my Welsh accent," said a young undergraduate to Dean Edwards. "Why?" he replied. "Have you ever seen a Scotchman ashamed of his accent? or an Irishman of his? and why should a Welshman be ashamed of his accent?" The Archdeacon, who acted as Welsh Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Llandaff, once asked a candidate for Holy Orders to read a passage from the Welsh Bible; but the candidate, who was undergoing his Welsh examination, had not proceeded far before he heard the Archdeacon exclaiming, "Stop, stop, young man! None of your namby-pamby Oxford twang. That style will not suit the Welsh." Then he gave him an example of how the passage should be read.

But, unlike the Dean, the Archdeacon was suspected of the Nonconformist "taint." It was said after his death "that he was a Nonconformist in everything but the name;" this was, we think, an exaggeration. True, to his mind there was no fundamental difference in doctrine between Dissent and the Church. He looked upon Nonconformity with a favourable eye, and he had many personal friends among Nonconformists: too many to please some Churchmen. He was a large-hearted man, of genial humour and kindly sympathies, and he was conciliatory by nature. Thus he was able to create a greater atmosphere of sympathy with the Church among certain sections of the middle and working classes.

There was a human touch about him, and he had an undisguised contempt for pompous shams, fallacy and falsity. Though he was an opportunist, as all men are more or less, yet there was a vein of true sincerity in his nature, which explains the fact that he succeeded in winning the love of men who were not of his own faith or of his own way of thinking; this is surely a great thing to achieve. The charm was in the man, not in his teaching, broad and sympathetic as that was; no man can teach others to be what he himself is not, and no man can rise above the measure of his own character. The nobility of the Archdeacon was in the sincerity and truth of his own embodiment of the ethics which he urged. Because he was sincere he drew by a sure law sincere souls to himself; because he admired goodness in others irrespective of their creed and station in life, he awakened admiration in others for himself. He moved the hearts and the moral nature of men because his own heart and nature had been deeply moved, and because he sought to apply Christianity in the most honest way he could to the problems of his day.

His virtues were simple and homely, and in spirit he was a Puritan. He was a keen student of men and movements, and he had the genius that could turn all he saw and heard to good account. He was an idealist and a dreamer; but he possessed a strong practical intelligence which revealed to him the trend of the popular mind and the needs of his time; hence the zeal with which he devoted his talents and energies

to promote national unity, and to further the interests of the Welsh educational movement. He was one of the pioneers of the Higher Education in Wales, a loyal supporter of the National Eisteddfod, and of the movement for making the Welsh language a medium for instruction in the elementary day schools.

It is not difficult to classify him as a preacher. Like all the popular Welsh divines, both past and present, he was an evangelical Protestant. It was his conviction that the Altar had been exalted at the expense of the pulpit, and that the Welsh could not be won back to the Church by ritual; indeed, for Ritualism and Sacerdotalism he had no use. His style of preaching was expository, and his eloquence was sometimes torrential. Like most Welsh preachers time was very essential to him; he might need three-quarters of an hour, even longer. But he was not an artist in the presentation of his theme, for his method was often loose and formless; he was apt to wander from his text and to say many things that were irrelevant to his subject-matter.

This was partly due to his mystical susceptibilities. His disposition inclined him towards the mystics; their ideas of the reality of communion with God, their subordination of outward form to spirit and service and worship, and their yearnings for complete submission to the will of God, had great attraction for him. We were young when we heard him first; it was at the funeral of the Rev. W. Matthews of Neath, a Nonconformist divine of great power and eloquence in his day. The Archdeacon spoke of the "mystic presences above," and of the "sweet fluting of heavenly choristers."

At times he seemed to have some ecstatic moments, when a sudden feeling would sweep over him and when his thoughts would roam hither and thither. As certain aspects of nature have a singular power of awakening mystical moods, so certain aspects of the truth seemed to steal into the Archdeacon's soul, and to lift it up into a state of spiritual exaltation, when all sequence of thought was lost. We did not know him well enough to be able to say what was the effect of these periodical habits of ecstasy on his spirit, energy, and theological affections. All that we can say is that they seemed to lift his soul

into a higher level of emotional excitement. They were real enough to him, but we never remember an occasion when he was able to communicate this mystical mood to his hearers. They existed only for himself.

But he never lost his grip on his congregation, and he never forgot his peroration, which is always a great asset in the Welsh pulpit; he had his subject by heart and at heart. His load of learning was not heavy; but he had read and thought much. He was no theologian, still less a profound thinker. But his services were in great demand, and it was sufficient to announce his name to attract a large congregation. He was an extempore preacher, and he left his mark not only on the Church but on his own generation. But reunion, for which he had longed and laboured, did not seem any nearer when he died. When the Rev. Dr. William Rees ("Hiraethog"), a notable Congregational minister of wonderful power as a pulpit orator and thinker, with whom the Archdeacon was on terms of friendship, told him that God would have to raise a second Saint David, before the difficulty of "Orders" involved in the question of reunion between Nonconformity and the Church could be overcome, the Archdeacon answered that God had provided him in the person of David Howell, known to fame as Dean Howell ("Llawdden"), who had been induced by the Archdeacon to leave the plough on his father's farm in The Vale of Glamorgan, to take up the work of the ministry in the Church.

Dean Howell (1831–1903) was a broad-minded and a cultivated Welshman. Though a plebeian by birth, as were almost all his contemporaries, his whole attitude was one of refinement. Like the Archdeacon, he found it difficult to free himself from purely Welsh methods of feeling and thinking. His mind was essentially Celtic both in its excellence and defects. He had no pretensions to scholarship in the strict sense of the word; he knew his own stature as well as his own vocation in life, and he was bent on its fulfilment. Politically and ecclesiastically, he was a non-combatant, and actuated by a spirit of fairness. His modes of appeal were conciliatory, and all the more effective for that reason. Not that he was weak or lacking in independence

of spirit; he knew his own mind and he never belied his Churchmanship for the sake of popularity. He was loyal to the Church and to his own convictions.

But he had the deepest repugnance for anything in the form of sectarian animosity, and he was always able to act in cordiality with those who represented Nonconformist opinion. Indeed, one might imagine that he was in some respects more in sympathy with Nonconformist sentiment than with the sentiment which commonly prevailed in his own community. He certainly recognized all that the Nonconformist bodies had done and were doing for the education no less than for the religious life of Wales. He felt the force of the Renaissance movement in the Principality and contributed to its growth. He also sought to keep the Church in its corporate capacity in touch with it. He was a nationalist, not in a political, but in a social and ethical sense.

Dean Howell had been bred in evangelical associations, and he had no sympathy with the priestly conception of the ministry; he was strongly averse to Ritualism and Sacerdotalism. The disruptionists, he said, were those who were forcing certain practices and ceremonials upon the parishioners against their wishes.

He never concealed his own opinion that the sacerdotalists in the Church were accentuating divisions, and he did not hold the view that the episcopal channel alone possessed the power of transmitting grace. He longed for unity, but unity, he thought, could never come by trying to bring the souls of men into the bondage of Priestism and Sacerdotalism. He did not believe in compulsory confession, nor in the requirement of absolution before a penitent can be admitted to the Communion. He strenuously adhered to the Reformed and Protestant character of the Church, and his motto was, Christliness rather than churchiness. Press articles and platform orations about unity were worse than useless, he thought, so long as ecclesiastical regulations tend to create barriers to unity, and to divide Christian people.

It was the simplicity and sincerity of his religion, both in its outer and inner aspect, that gave him as a preacher and

a man, so deep and so wide an influence on his parishioners, and on all with whom he was brought in contact. He was an eloquent man, but his strength was in his own fascinating personality. No one could hear him preach, or associate with him, without feeling the force of his character, and without feeling that he lived in a higher world. Yet he was greatly interested in the affairs of life, and in all movements that had for their object the elevation of his race and the advancement of Wales.

Rev. William Rees Thomas (1844–1911), who was a native of Tregaron, Cardiganshire, received his school education at Lampeter Grammar School, Carnarvon School, and afterwards at Shrewsbury School, under Benjamin Hall Kennedy. He left Shrewsbury for Jesus College, Oxford, in 1865; one of his contemporaries and intimate friends being the late Sir John Rhys. Owing to eye trouble, he was obliged to leave the University for a time; he, however, returned in about three years, and took his M.A. degree in 1871.

His first curacy was at Merthyr, where he served under the Rev. John Griffith. It was said that Mr. Thomas greatly resembled Rector Griffith in his style of preaching, and that he possessed some of his personal characteristics, notably humour and sternness. From Merthyr, Mr. Thomas went to Michaelstone-super-Avon, better known as Cwmavon, where he remained until his preferment to the living of Abersychan, Monmouthshire, which was presented to him by the Rev. John. C. Llewelyn, Vicar of Trevethin, Pontypool, on the recommendation of Archdeacon Griffiths of Neath, who once said at a clerical gathering "that Thomas, Curate of Michaelstone, was the sweetest and most dignified young preacher among the clergy in the diocese of Llandaff."

The name of Abersychan was very little known before Mr. Thomas went there, but his growing popularity as a preacher, and his subsequent frequent visits to different parts of the Principality in response to requests for his services, brought it into such prominence that to pronounce the word was like the opening up of a book of record. The name became a symbol of the attributes of the Vicar of the parish. Indissolubly connected with the name was not merely the outward

physical history of the place, but the faith, zeal, genius, and the reflective qualities that were stored up in the soul of the Rev. William Rees Thomas. During the first five years of his tenure of the living the church at Talywain was literally crowded every Sunday; people could be seen flocking from the neighbouring parishes to hear him preach.

From this time onward he began to leave his parish and would be away for a period of from five to six weeks at a time, touring throughout Wales. This caused much displeasure among his own parishioners. When the late Bishop Lewis became aware of the feeling that existed he wrote to Mr. Thomas, requesting him to confine his activities to his own parish. However, a petition signed by many of the clergy in the diocese was presented to Bishop Lewis, praying that Mr. Thomas might be allowed to continue his visitations to the different parishes; to this the Bishop assented.

It is calculated that Mr. Thomas had preached in about 668 churches in England and Wales. On more than one occasion he actually travelled in a coal truck drawn by a special engine, so as not to disappoint the Rector of the particular parish where he had been announced to preach. This was on a Sunday when passenger trains would not be running. It was quite a common thing to see him addressing a congregation while standing on a tombstone, when it had been found that the church was too small to accommodate the people. While at home among his own people he invariably used notes, but when from home he discarded them.

There are a few who remember the remarkable scene at the unveiling of the east window in Trevethin Church, which was erected to the memory of the two hundred miners who lost their lives in the Llanerch Pit explosion, Pontypool. Thousands of colliers assembled on that occasion, most of whom could only find standing room in the churchyard. Mr. Thomas preached from the text, "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." It was a memorable occasion, and the sermon was in every sense worthy of it.

His power as a preacher was known in London. He once

preached on a St. David's Day in St. Paul's Cathedral, to a very large congregation, from the text Acts xiii. 36, 37. He had not a single note before him, and the sermon lasted an hour. The late Archdeacon Sinclair, who heard him, remarked afterwards that he had seldom heard such eloquence in St. Paul's Cathedral. On another occasion Mr. Thomas preached at the request of the late Bishop Lewis before the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the City of London, to the great satisfaction of the Bishop and all concerned.

His last sermon in Talywain Church was on Easter Sunday, when he preached on the words, "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." He was taken ill after the delivery of the sermon, and was unable to celebrate the Communion. He was taken to his house, which he never again left; he died on May 17th, 1911, and was buried in the same grave as his wife in Tregaron Churchyard.

"Thomas Abersychan," like all the powerful preachers of Wales, belonged to the evangelical school; but he stood for purity of doctrine and for the dignity of worship, though not for worship of the sensuous kind. He always held the view that preaching, and preaching of the evangelical sort, was absolutely essential if the Church in Wales was to carry any real weight with the Welsh people; he also believed that the secret of the strength of Welsh Nonconformity was in the power of its pulpit.

Where are we to look for the secret or source of his own power? We must look for it partly in the fact that he personally lived the life that the beautiful outward forms of the Church imply. By this we mean that he lived a clean, active, vigorous life; that having been redeemed himself his chief concern was the redemption of his fellows; that while conscious of the fact that Christ, as he thought, had founded a Church in the world, he was equally conscious of the fact that a people had also been founded in the world whose national characteristic is said by one Apostle to be "eagerness for good works," and for such good works as cover the whole field of thought, life, business, and affection.

Again, his own actions corresponded with his views of the duty and the responsibility of the Church to which he was

so strongly attached; his life impressed his friends and the public with the conviction that if all the clergy had in generations past been impelled by the same spirit, the cry for Disestablishment and Disendowment would have lost its main force. Not only his own parishioners, but men everywhere wondered at his outward activity; but it was the natural development of his inward fervour, and our personal knowledge of him enables us to say that his inward fervour was developed by his outward activity. If, as it has been said, they live long who live much, then Thomas of Abersychan, as he was familiarly known, lived a long life, for it was a life full of intensity; life to him was a very earnest thing. He broke down earlier, perhaps, than he might have otherwise done, through excessive activity.

But he cannot be fully understood apart from his exceptional gifts as a preacher. Indeed, preaching had a bewitching attraction for him; and it would be true to say that his own style of preaching had a bewitching attraction for the people. He was highly descriptive, and he combined in himself the academic and the popular qualities, which explains the fact that he could grip the attention of the uneducated as well as of the educated. It was his good fortune to possess a clear and melodious voice which could be distinctly heard by every one in the largest available building. He was as thoughtful as he was eloquent, and as convincing as he was persuasive.

The principle upon which he preached was, that it is never healthy to excite strong emotions unless they are given a chance to translate themselves into deeds. He evoked feeling that it might be put into some form of activity befitting that feeling. Of him it can be truly said that his name was not merely upon the people outwardly, but that his spirit was upon them inwardly; partly for the reason that as they looked into the man himself they saw a nature of the noblest sincerity, a nature that had an abiding sense of God's presence and a deep consciousness of the reality of spiritual things. This was as apparent when he preached as when he conducted devotional exercises. He was once heard to say that a Christian could no more hope to ripen in true devotion

without being in daily communion with God, than a flower could bloom in summer without the dew that falls upon it.

He had the genius for true friendship, and his heart was hungry for companionship; yet there was no over-addiction to companionship, which is often a temptation to public men. He recognized the necessity of habitual, constitutional, characteristic kindness, not merely because he was a minister of Christ, but because it is the marrow of the moral nature of man, and because it is an obligation that comes before the Church imposes it. He preached purity, holiness, and charity to men, not because they were baptized, or included in the covenants of the Church, but because they were men; and what he preached he practised. We never knew a man who was so completely released from the thrall of biting, bitter, heated prejudice. In those very qualities which make a neighbour noble to a neighbour, and a father dear to his children — in love, thoughtfulness, and sacrifice for their future usefulness, he was a living example of what he publicly preached. Six of his sons are now in Holy Orders, which is surely an exceptional thing in the history of any family. They can look back upon their father's life and work and pulpit achievements, and upon the memory of a devoted mother, as the brightest of all their earthly remembrances.

Many names have been passed over in this survey of the place and significance of the Church in the pulpit life of Wales, not because they are unworthy of notice, but partly for lack of space; partly because our object has been to give typical examples. The examples that have been given represent, we think, the various phases of thought and types of oratory in the pulpit life of the Church in Wales. There are other names that will occur to Welsh readers, such as "Jones y Faenor," who was a veritable Boanerges; Griffiths of Llandilo, the poet preacher of the Church in Wales, who was as eloquent as any preacher that ever ascended a Welsh pulpit; Griffiths of Nevern; Hughes Tregaron, Griffiths Machyulleth, Hughes Llanddyfri, and others we might name.

But the historian must practise the art of selection; to tell everything is to tell nothing. Care has also been taken not to encumber the ground with the unimportant details of

biography. There are writers who exaggerate everything connected with the lives of great men, or of men who have gained prominence and notoriety, especially if they have sprung from obscurity. Their humble origin and early surroundings are magnified, they are made heroes everywhere and always, even in their boyhood days; every little incident is noted. It is difficult to know what to attribute to fact, and what to attribute to the fancy and amplifying imagination of the writer or biographer. It is fortunate that Shakespeare left so little information about himself, so that critics are compelled to concentrate their attention upon his genius and his works, which, after all, are the essential thing.

As to the relative degree of service rendered by the men we have named, both to the Church and to the people of Wales, our readers must judge for themselves. Of one thing there can be no doubt. They all expressed the dominant needs and ideas of their time. Two things are made clear: First, that the influence of the Church in Wales through its pulpit has been far greater, wider, and more permanent than is commonly supposed; this is a fact that Churchmen and Welshmen in general would do well to recall in this crisis of the Church's history. Secondly, we cannot rightly estimate the forces that have operated in the spiritual regeneration of Wales, in maintaining the supremacy of the Scriptures, in penetrating the mind of the people with the meaning of the Gospel, and in preserving law and order in the Welsh body politic, without taking into account the contribution of the Church through its pulpit. This is a side of the Church's life that has not been adequately appreciated. Its pulpit history is one of the imperishable treasures of the Church.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH AND INDUSTRIAL UNREST IN WALES

Obviously, the term "industrial unrest" is used here in reference to the mining community, for it is this class of workers that have been the most restive and troublesome in South Wales, especially in recent years; and it is upon their attitude that the question of social peace will depend. Not that it can be said that the miners are, as a class, more intelligent, or better read generally, or better educated, or that they have a better understanding of political economy and of industrial conditions, or a larger mental outlook, than other classes of workers, such, for instance, as the tin-plate worker.

Our view is that, broadly speaking, they are not so highly trained as are the latter; they are certainly not so amenable to reason and discipline, and to the dictates of the moral code; in truth, the miners have a moral code of their own. The tin-plate workers come within the category of skilled workmen, which means that such labour requires a higher average of skill and intelligence. In the case of a strike it would be far more difficult for their employers to find substitutes than would be the case in the mining industry. Housing conditions are quite as bad among the tin-plate workers as they are among the miners; their social surroundings are quite as uncongenial, and the average wage is lower than it is in the mining industry.

The tin-plate workers are not so divisive, or militant, or irreconcilable as are the miners, and class antagonism is far less pronounced among them. They are more largely governed by human and ethical considerations. Indeed, the miners' leaders avow that ethical considerations do not count with

them, and they claim that the industrial problem is fundamentally an economic one. A far more satisfactory relation exists between the tin-plate workers and their employers, and disputes, when they occur, are more easily adjusted; partly for the reason that the tin-plate workers have a larger sense of responsibility; partly because Syndicalism does not appeal to them as it appeals to the miners; partly because they believe that they have more to gain by conciliatory methods than by striking on the slightest pretext; partly because they are, as a class, more loyal; and, from a purely Welsh point of view, more patriotic, and take more interest in Welsh national life; partly because their objective is not the same. It is remarkable that the founding and development of the tin-plate industry in Wales has not been attended by the same social evils and industrial ferment as have attended the opening and the development of the South Wales coalfields; neither has the tin-plate industry demanded so much attention from the Government, chiefly because it is not such a vital industry, especially in war time.

In dwelling upon the social evils which accompanied the development of coal-mining in South Wales, Henry Bruce (afterwards Lord Aberdare), who was stipendiary magistrate for Merthyr, 1847–1852, was careful to impress two facts. First, that the ignorance, immorality, destitution, and discontent, which he saw around him could not be attributed to any want of material prosperity. "I know," he said, "no other part of the Empire in which one year with another wages range so high, food and fuel are so cheap and plentiful, and workmen's dwelling-houses so substantial and convenient." Secondly, that the system of coal-mining itself could not be held responsible for the darker social aspects of this industrial revolution. Neither would he allow that the increase of national wealth is but the increase of national misery.

The criticism which he felt constrained to pass upon the first founders of the coal-mining system was, that they neglected to make proper provision for the intellectual and religious education of the great bodies of workmen they had collected

together. Colliery owners and works proprietors of those days took the view that they had no responsibility for their workmen when they were outside the gates of the works; though it is worthy of note that after over half a century of compulsory education, and after the most sympathetic consideration by the mineowners and employers in general, of the home life, the social and intellectual needs of the workmen; and notwithstanding the fact that these districts have since been amply supplied with all kinds of religious and educational institutions, a prominent educationist, speaking recently at a representative public gathering, referred to Merthyr and immediate district as a place where the conduct of the people is such, that in their state of affluence through the war, they keep their children in "an abject state of savage slavery." No impartial student of the history of mining industry in South Wales would question the statement, that there is much that can be said on behalf of the coalowners from the standpoint of general public welfare. They have by their enterprise and business aptitude vastly increased the means of subsistence and material prosperity of the miners and their families, as well as of the tradesmen and other persons in the colliery areas. They have even kept going certain collieries that hardly paid working expenses; this they have done both in the interests of the community at large, and in the interest of the property itself.

That the owners have made profits, is very largely the result of their business enterprise, a "crime" not confined to the mining industry. It is in the shipping industry that these "huge fortunes" have been made, especially during the war. Some who were in the position of subordinates at very small salaries have, on account of the war, become the heads of highly prosperous firms; while long-established shipping firms have made enormous sums of money. As Lord Rhondda remarked, "Neither employees nor employers have anything to complain of as regards wages and profits. Wages are higher in the Welsh coalfields than ever they were, and profits have been considerable." Last year nine workmen were summoned at Newport, Monmouthshire,

Police Court, for failing to pay various amounts as quarterly instalments of income tax. "Look here," observed the clerk, to a coal-trimmer, twenty years of age, "you owe £5 5*s*. 9*d*. for one quarter. You must have earned good money to be liable for that amount in one quarter." A magistrate said, "It would stagger some people if they knew what coal-trimmers are now earning."

There are no records giving the actual average earnings of the miners in the South Wales Coalfield. The only safe basis to go upon is that of the wage rate and the minimum wage rates. The latter were determined under the Coal Mines Minimum Wage Act of 1912, and they vary for different classes of labour; but the rates fixed under the Act of 1912 have since been slightly increased by voluntary concessions of the Government in 1915. The miners are paid a general percentage on these rates. The general wage percentage in 1912 was 50 per cent.; when the war broke out it was 60 per cent.; it is now 133¾ per cent. on the standard rates. The standard rates were altered in 1915; when that change took place the percentage on the old standard represented 18·33 per cent. on the new 50 per cent. higher standard. The old rate of 133¾ per cent. is equivalent to 55·83 per cent. on the new standard.

The common notion—which has been fostered very largely by the Socialists and Syndicalists—that the South Wales Collieries are entirely in the hands of a few wealthy capitalists whose only ambition is to make money, and that at the expense of the miners, is a mistaken notion. The owners, or managers, are the trustees of very many thousands of shareholders who have invested their small savings in these colliery undertakings, and a great many of them are not better off than the average collier. That the owners have made certain financial arrangements as a safeguard against a "rainy day," is a tribute to their foresight, as well as to their fidelity to the trust which has been reposed in them. As to the proportion which the ordinary shareholders receive in dividends, if we take the approximate output of the South Wales coal areas for 1915, we find it is fifty million tons; of this, the profit per ton to the shareholders was less than

one shilling and sixpence; while, approximately, ten times that amount went to labour by way of remuneration. We have also to take into consideration the proportion of profits that goes in taxation; the uncertainty of colliery enterprise as an investment; the comparatively short life of colliery undertakings, and the fact that the cost of production has been steadily increasing during recent years. But the contention is that as capital, according to the socialistic theory, plays no part in production, it is not entitled to any share in the proceeds of the industry; that all profits should go to labour. If the ordinary shareholder is entitled to any interest, he is not, we are told, entitled to more than the equivalent of the minimum wage paid to certain workmen; which means that the person who invests twenty shillings, say in the Cambrian Combine, is to receive in twelve months less than 50 per cent. of what the lowest-paid workman receives for four hours of his labour. Another contention is, that under a socialistic system not only would the workmen get a higher remuneration for his labour, but that it would result in greater efficiency, though experience shows that efficiency is in inverse ratio to State control, or State ownership.

Not that there is any approach to unanimity among the miners and their leaders with respect to State control or State ownership. There is a feeling of general satisfaction among them that the Government has, for the period of the war, assumed control of the Welsh collieries as well as jurisdiction over the distribution of profits and dividends. It is a real step, they say, in the direction of their final objective. While they are determined to fight for the restoration of those trade union rules and customs which have been suspended for the duration of the war, and for the maintenance, after the war, of the present rate of wages, they are resolved to do what lies in their power to prevent the mineowners being placed in the same position as they were before the war. But the theory of the nationalization of the mines is now regarded with disfavour by an increasing number of the miners, chiefly because, as they hold, it would be in the interest of the employers and of the shareholders

in the coalfields; and because it would enable the Government to play the part of "a bludgeoning bully" on behalf of the State; and they avow that they would fight the State, if necessary, with the same resolution as they fought the employers. Nationalization of the mines they do not now want, "because it would not get rid of the payment of profits and the investment of private capital."

The two leading, or governing, ideas that have been fermenting in the minds of the Welsh miners are, Socialism and Syndicalism. It is not necessary here to discuss their respective philosophies, or to show how they differ, theoretically, in ideals, objective and method. All that is necessary is to indicate the manner in which Socialism and Syndicalism have manifested themselves in the Welsh coalfields, and how their methods have been adjusted in order to meet the exigencies of the moment. Practically speaking, it would be more difficult to discover in what respect the Socialists and Syndicalists differ, than to discover in what respect they agree, or co-operate. Personally, the leaders of both movements are at variance; partly through jealousy; partly because both parties claim the credit for the present position of the combined movement. Indeed, some good students fail to see any vital difference between the two systems as they are developing themselves in the South Wales coalfields. Of one thing there can be no question, viz., in so far as their antagonism to the mineowners, to capitalism, and to the existing economic system, is concerned, Socialism and Syndicalism are sympathetic movements. They act and react upon each other. The Syndicalist helps the Socialist, and *vice versâ*. When the time for action arrives, they subordinate every other interest in order to expedite the establishment of that form of industrialism which means possession of the industry for the benefit of the workers, and a controlling voice in determining the conditions that shall govern it.

Both are class movements, and both embrace the system of collective capital and common ownership of the means of production; the abolition, not of wealth as such, but of the capitalist and competitive system, for the reason, as they

hold, that when applied to the production and distribution of wealth, they are, morally, economically, and socially indefensible, and that they retard progress and general happiness. The Socialists and Syndicalists are making the industrial movement purely materialistic; they are interpreting it solely from an economic standpoint, and solely as it affects wages, working hours, and social conditions. Loyalty to their own class is, generally speaking, the supreme consideration. One of their leaders in the Rhondda Valley recently declared in public, that loyalty to his class was of greater importance to him than loyalty to his own country. The drift of both the Socialist and Syndicalist movement, in so far as they agree, is towards the establishment of an organization on a purely industrial basis, that shall engage in industrial action, both local and national, and on the basis of complete independence of, and hostility to, all capitalist parties, with the avowed policy of wresting whatever advantages it can for the miners; which means the substitution of a policy of open hostility for the old policy of identity of interests between employers and employees. It also means the complete elimination of the employer; the taking over of the mining industry by the miners themselves, to be carried on in their interests alone; the subversion of the whole of the coal industry; and, finally, through the amalgamation of allied industries and the promotion of the national union, the founding of an industrial nationalism to supersede State nationalism. The object is not to protect the industry but to seize it.

The Syndicalists go a step further than the Socialists. They are agitating for the abolition of the wage system, or as their leaders term it, "The wage slavery system," because, as they allege, it compels the workman to sell his labour power, that is, his capacity to labour, merely in order to live, and that it gives the capitalist domination over the working class, and enables him to use the industry in his own particular class interest. The abolition of the wage system is, they say, a necessary preliminary to the total abolition of the capitalist class.

Unlike the Socialists, the Syndicalists repudiate the State,

and they profess to have but little, if any, faith in the efficiency of "ordinary political action." They regard the State as they regard capitalism—as the representative of tyranny. They regard politicians as "a special class of self-seekers who are corrupted by their environment." Political action, they say, involves diplomacy, and compromise, and it prevents direct action by the workers. Direct action means force, and force in the form of a general strike without warning and conducted without respect to the interests of the community or of the State is, they plead, the only effective weapon in the hands of industrialists.

That the Syndicalists' propaganda is spreading in the South Wales coalfields is unquestionable. The South Wales Miners' Federation has found it necessary in its own interests to adopt Syndicalist ideas, such, for instance, as the idea of a general union of allied workers, and a general sympathetic strike when the time is ripe for it. The holding up of the community by means of a general strike in order to compel the Government to interfere on behalf of Labour, is now a part of the programme of the Federation. They concede that the effect on the community at large of the strike of 1912 was not what they had anticipated. This they attribute to the lack of an effective industrial organization, hence the formation of what is called the Triple Alliance: miners, transport workers, and railway men. The miners are now being urged "to think in the terms of this alliance," so as to be prepared for combined action when the war is over, in case their new and additional demands are not allowed. What is true in a military sense, the miners are being reminded, is also true in an industrial sense, viz., that the advantage is on the side of those who take the initiative.

The truth is, that the industrial movement in the South Wales coalfield is daily becoming more definitely Syndicalist, and that the South Wales Miners' Federation, through the influence of the Syndicalists, is daily becoming more revolutionary in character. This is due, partly, to the fact that leading men among the miners' leaders, men who avow that they are not Syndicalists, are, whether consciously or unconsciously, playing the Syndicalist game, partly because the

Syndicalists and Socialists have succeeded very largely in controlling the machinery by obtaining the seats of power; partly because a large number of the miners have become convinced that the Syndicalists have rendered considerable service to their cause—more so even than the Socialists or the leaders of the Federation—by emphasizing points which had hitherto been overlooked. Among these points are, what is now generally termed "the exploitation of the miners by capitalism," and "the slavish subjection of the miners to those who manage the mines." The Syndicalists have also persuaded a large number of the rank and file that the time has come when they ought to control their own labour, both as to price and hours of work; that the results of Labour representation in Parliament are disappointing, and that to delegate their own power to representatives is to betray their own interests.

Thus the Syndicalists and Socialists have in various ways been preparing the ground for the "Next Step" towards the attainment of their objective. The programme is as drastic as it is comprehensive. The procedure is as follows:—

First, an agitation in favour of increasing the minimum wage and shortening the hours of labour, until the miners have extracted the whole of the employers' profits. The amount of the minimum wage is to be fixed at eight shillings a day for all workmen employed in and about the mines, and the number of working hours is to be reduced from eight to seven a day. The demand for a seven-hour day is to be conditional upon the minimum wage of eight shillings being obtained. Reductions of hours of labour, it is contended, have always anteceded increases of wages, the operation of the Eight Hours Act being quoted as an instance. It is further pointed out by those who advocate this policy, that it would supply the necessary stimulus for further increases in the minimum wage on the part of those who would still be earning (on the price list) wages above the minimum.

Second, to compel every man working in or about the mines, no matter what his craft or occupation, to both join the Federation and to observe its decrees. This point they emphasize by stating that it is not sufficient for the miners to

confine their attention to the actual coal-getters and surfacemen. They purpose securing as members of their organization, the deputies, under-managers, the draughtsmen, and office staff, from whose ranks, when they are under control of the Federation, the managers and all persons for directive posts are to be recruited. In effect, they aim at the bringing into being of an industrial combination, in which the workers alone will be responsible for the process and management of production, which involves the right both to dismiss and to elect foremen and managers.

Third, to discard the old method of coming out on strike for any little minor grievances, and to adopt the more "scientific" method of the "Irritation Strike," by simply remaining at work while reducing their output, and so contrive by their general conduct to make the colliery unremunerative. Whenever it is contemplated bringing any body of men out on strike, demands are to be made "for improving the status of each section so brought out." The "Irritation Strike" depends for its success on the men holding clearly the point of view, that their interests and the interests of the employers "are necessarily hostile;" also, that the employer is vulnerable in only one place—his profits. Then, if the men wish to bring effective pressure to bear upon the Capitalist, they must use methods which tend to reduce his profits, and the only way of doing this is to decrease production while continuing to work. For instance, the management of a certain colliery wished to introduce screens for the purpose of checking small coal. The men were being paid for large and small coal in gross, but they objected to this innovation, because they considered that they saw the thin end of the wedge to reduce their earnings. The men, instead of going on strike, reduced their output. The management were thus face to face with an output of only half of what it was formerly, while running expenses remained the same. This method, the miners are advised, can be used like "the policeman's club," to bring the employers "to reason."

Fourth, the annulment of the conciliation policy, which, since 1900, has been the policy of the South Wales Federation. It is argued that this policy is founded on the false

theory of "the equal rights of the capitalist class and of the working class to exist together," and "that it favours the exploitation of the employees by the employers." Judged by its usefulness as a wage-getting policy—which, as we are told, is the only real test—it has proved a failure. The minimum wage, it is also argued, makes conciliation unnecessary. A man either gets the minimum or he does not. There is nothing to conciliate or negotiate upon. There are, they say, in the minimum wage, two diverse tendencies. On the men's side it will tend, as the organization develops its power, for the minimum to be so increased as to become the maximum possible to be earned on the price lists. On the employers' side the tendency will perforce always be to offer some inducement to the men to earn something above the minimum, in order to expedite production, and thus maintain profits.

In dealing with the question of conciliation, *The Pioneer* for Saturday, January 17, 1917, published in the Merthyr district, stated as follows :—

"In the meantime draw up a set of demands, the magnitude of which should correspond with what our organization as it now stands is capable of enforcing. Lay them before our employers whenever they can least bear a stoppage. But they are not for the purpose of 'negotiation' or 'modification.' Neither are they for the purpose of impressing the Board of Trade representatives with the seriousness of the 'situation.' Say to our employers 'There are our terms. They have already been "negotiated" upon and "modified" to an absolute minimum. We make no agreement ranging over a term of years. We agree to abide by them only so long as it will take us to get our house in order to demand more. Our demand will not be based upon the increased selling price, but calculated to take a slice from your profit, until such time when we are sufficiently organized to relieve you of the burden and worry of the means of production themselves.'"

To the argument advanced by the more moderate section, viz., that if conciliation does not tend to the overthrow of capitalism, it at least wrings from the capitalist class higher wages and better conditions of labour for the workers, the extremists reply that conciliation never did and never can do

any such thing, that it has at no time added one penny to the wage-rate, nor shortened working time by one hour. On the contrary, they hold that it has "used up the strength, intelligence and finance of the working-class organizations, in assisting the capitalist class to retard the progress of the working class." Further, conciliation, it is argued, makes possible a system of long agreements which, with their elaborate precautions against direct action by the miners, prevent them securing improved conditions at a moment when the mere exhibition of strength, or of concerted action, would allow it; also, "that it gives the real power of the men into the hands of a few leaders who become 'gentlemen' and M.P.'s, and who gain considerable social prestige, partly because the employers have to consider them on account of the power which they possess," though it should be observed that the leaders have not the power they formerly possessed.

Throughout the negotiations for the new agreement in 1910, the industrial extremists insisted upon the principle of direct control, with the result that it was laid down that plenary powers should no longer be vested in the leaders, and that the final acceptance of any agreement should depend upon the ballot vote of the men. They took away from the leaders all responsibility for the *terms* of the agreement, leaving to them only the responsibility for the conduct of the negotiations. Now they are expressing their dissatisfaction with what they call "this half-hearted establishment of the principle of direct control by the men." While they recognize that the introduction of the new principle, in 1910, represented an advance in the direction of their objective, they hold that it is by no means a satisfactory solution, for the reason that it does not go far enough; it does not give the men, they say, *real control*, save in the matter of selecting the agents, or negotiators.

It is, however, worthy of note in this connection, that the men who succeeded, in 1910, in forcing the acceptance of the new principle of direct control, were the very men who refused to put it to the test during the trouble of 1915. It was then morally certain, and it has since been admitted, that if a ballot of the men had been taken, they would have been

willing to continue to work on a day-to-day contract, in order to give the Government time for further negotiations, and for the resentment caused by the Royal Proclamation (by which the provisions of the Munitions Act were applied to the South Wales coalfields), to subside. Further, under the conciliation system, they say, their customs are broken down, and their price-list is a farce; partly owing to the fact that, as they allege, the system has corrupted the leaders in spite of their good intentions, "for quite naturally they examine every proposal with a view of ascertaining its probable effect on their position and power." In brief, conciliation has come to be regarded by them as a "stop-block on progress," for which they say their representatives are in a large measure responsible. "A policy," we are further told, "which has produced leaders whose profession demands privileges, and which places them so often in antagonism to the real interests of the men who pay them, is not only not worth retaining, but a source of perpetual discontent." Owing to the conciliation system the miners, it is contended, have not benefited as they should through the great increase in the price of coal since the year 1900. This increase, averaging nearly six shillings per ton, ought, it is claimed, "in itself to secure automatically for the workmen 60 per cent. on the standard, whereas they are only paid 50 per cent." To the argument that the policy of minimum percentages has kept the price of coal up, they turn a deaf ear; neither do they seem to want the public to appreciate the fact that there is a close relation between the rate of wages and the price of coal; it serves their objective to try to fix the responsibility for the increase in the price upon the owners, and thus gain public sympathy. The increase of 15 per cent. granted to the miners by the Government, meant an increase of one shilling and sixpence to two shillings per ton in coal prices, which has very largely to be paid by the taxpayer, for the reason that South Wales coal is extensively bought for national purposes. The Government having contracted for coal at *a fixed price* gave the miners higher wages.

On the Conciliation Board, it is further claimed, all things have to be considered from the employers' standpoint, as they

alone have the inside information, and the men's representatives have no means of judging "the truth of their assertions." Hence, it is said, more reliance can be placed upon the understanding and watchfulness of the great majority of the miners than upon what transpires during the deliberations of the Conciliation Board. The principle involved in the conciliation policy is, they maintain, "a fiendish principle which no sane man ought to countenance any longer; it puts huge profits in the pockets of the employers, and it has been responsible for every reduction in the miners' wages."

Fifth, it is proposed through these agitations and other means to accentuate the fear arising from what has been described as "the rooted mistrust" between Capital and Labour in the Welsh coalfields. Of the existence of this mistrust there can be no doubt, and it is being exaggerated for the express purpose of compelling Government intervention, and of creating a national atmosphere inimical to the owners and to the present system. The owners are not blameless in this matter, for while the miners' leaders were, through the Press, and by other means, systematically fastening upon them charges of selfishness, tyranny, duplicity, misuse of their power, and mis-handling of the industry, the owners, relying on the justice of their case, or, as the miners would say, on the security of their position, did very little, comparatively speaking, to counteract these efforts. Through the instrumentality of the Central Labour College in South Wales, certain ideas regarding Capital and Labour have been spread broadcast among the miners and other members of the community; but the owners have not yet organized a systematic effort to instruct public opinion, or to remove the ignorance of the workers and of the general public, of the function of Capital in the work of production. To this ignorance is due, very largely, the ever-recurring troubles in the Welsh coalfields.

Neither has the Government been blameless; its policy seems to have been, that as this is a time of national danger, expediency rather than principle should govern every attempt at a settlement, with the result that the miners have not been encouraged to observe the sanctity of a contract.

For instance, in July, 1915, the Government compelled the owners to assent to a new general wage agreement; but in June, 1916, it arbitrarily set aside the same agreement, forcing the owners to concede the 15 per cent. advance which the miners demanded under threat of withholding coal supplies to the navy; this the Government did without hearing the case of the owners, acting entirely on the representation of the miners' leaders; thus further prejudicing the case of the owners in the eyes of the public, as well as of the miners; and, unwittingly, aggravating the distrust which already existed. The Government adopted the same attitude in December, 1916, and frequently on minor disputes since.

In order to intensify this mistrust, it is part of the propaganda to persuade the miners that this war is really due to the capitalist system, and that it is the intention of the capitalists and the aristocracy to place the financial burden of the war on the shoulders of the working-classes; also, that the mineowners have attempted to make, and have succeeded in making, great profits out of the national necessities arising out of war conditions; and that private ownership has extracted from the State, as a State, during this war, not the minimum, but the maximum return; and "that Capitalism had exploited not only the producer, but the consumer also, with a brutality and soullessness never heretofore experienced."

Moreover, the miners are being warned that when peace comes, the capitalist class will make a desperate effort to embody permanently in the capitalist organization of industry, all the restrictions and regulations which have been introduced by the State for war purposes only. They profess to believe in the sincerity of the promise given, that after the war trade unions shall revert to all their former rights; but they maintain that as we are still a "Class-State" in which the aristocratic and capitalist elements are so powerful, there is a danger that their influence, combined with other movements in the country, and new economic conditions, may make the fulfilment of the promise impossible. The workers are also being urged to watch the aristocratic influence in the Church of England, which will, it is said, seek, in the interest

of the capitalists, to use even the ethical prestige of religion as a "subtle trap to further enslave the worker." This warning is founded on the reference which the new Bishop of Exeter made on the value of "national discipline and obedience."

As to the alleged profiteering of the employers through the war, it should in justice be stated that on the outbreak of hostilities, Lord Rhondda suggested to the Admiralty Coal Transport Officer at Cardiff, that the Government should take over control of the Admiralty collieries, merely reserving to the proprietors the dividends, or the income, they had been receiving prior to the war, Lord Rhondda was told that his suggestion was impracticable, though it has since been adopted. As to the charge which has been so extensively circulated, that the owners objected to an independent audit of the colliery owners' accounts in connection with the high cost of production, it should also in justice be stated that what the owners objected to was, that the audit should be conducted by the paid servants of Syndicalist leaders, whose sole aim in demanding such an audit was the ruination of the owners. The latter expressed their readiness to allow a chartered accountant nominated by the Board of Trade, or by a Judge of the High Court, to inspect their books in connection with the question of profits and cost of production.

The conduct of the whole of the mineowners during this war has been inspired by patriotic and unselfish motives; they have even submitted to the imposition of conditions by the Government which they feel to be unjust to themselves; and they have agreed to concessions, as to wages and other matters, which, as they claim, are not warranted by the facts of the case, simply in order to preserve peace, and keep the men at work to serve their country in a critical hour. At the beginning of the war the miners joined the colours in great numbers. The mineowners gave them every encouragement to enlist. At the Cambrian Collieries, for instance, the Government separation allowance was supplemented by a grant of ten shillings per man. But on the question of absenteeism, which has so seriously menaced the amount of production, the owners have not received from the Government the

support they had right to expect, for, strange to relate, the Government decided not to interfere with a miner unless he absented himself more than two days a week.

In conclusion, it is not too much to say that the situation in the Welsh coalfield, both actual and potential, presents a problem which demands the earnest consideration of our statesmen and of the public; if only for the reason that the objective of the Socialists and Syndicalists has been taking place under their eyes. With this objective in view, a draft of the proposals which are involved in the "Next Step" have been sent to each section in Monmouthshire Eastern and Western Valleys, and Swansea and district, Merthyr and Aberdare and Rhondda districts, for the consideration of the members of the various lodges; and a series of meetings have been held and conferences convened to discuss the decisions of the various districts.

It would be unwise to ignore these activities, for as Mr. Smillie said at the Labour Conference at Manchester in January, "It has been the rebels in the Trade Union Movement in the past who have made it what it is to-day." It was the "rebels," or extremists, in the South Wales coalfield—the Syndicalists, the I.L.P. leaders, the No-Conscriptionists, and the most militant section of the Socialists—who succeeded at the Cardiff Conference in securing the rejection of the arrangement arrived at between the Home Secretary (Sir George Cave) and the Executive Committee and the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, of which there are three South Wales representatives, respecting the question of the combing-out of the miners. In that agreement the industrial rights of the miners, as secured by the special clauses in the Military Service Act, were fully safeguarded, particularly the right of the *bonâ fide* miner to two months' grace after the cancellation of any exemption, and to *bonâ fide* miners temporarily absent on August 14th, 1915. Indeed, as regards liability to military service, the miners have been placed in a highly favourable position as compared with other workers.

It is estimated that between sixty and seventy thousand men have gone into the Welsh coalfield since the beginning of the war, a great many of them in order to evade the Military

Service Act. In spite of abundant evidence to the contrary, the extremists as well as some of the more moderate among the leaders, have endeavoured to show that most, if not all, of these men are "really miners," and ought not to be interfered with. But the cardinal fact is, that they object to the combing-out process in itself, because it involves, as they think, the principle of industrial conscription. Also, the extremists hoped, and are still hoping, to institute a "stop the war policy"—a policy that would force the Government to negotiate for peace with Germany. It is for these reasons that they have championed the cause of those who have taken up the mining industry since August 14th, 1915, and who will in all probability leave when the war is over.

The fact that the delegates at the Cardiff Conference on February 18th, 1917, reversed the decision arrived at on February 13th by very nearly the same majority, goes to show that the rejection of the agreement was by no means a true interpretation of the loyalty of the great body of the miners with regard to the prosecution of the war to a victorious issue. But an analysis of the figures, in the light of the energetic and patriotic efforts made by the more responsible and experienced of the miners' leaders to influence the miners and the various lodges, also goes to show that the extremists are very strongly entrenched. There were 285 delegates present, and the majority in favour of the Executive Committee's report was only 45. It is safe to say that if the issue had been a purely industrial instead of a political issue, and unconnected in any way with the war, the extremists would in the final contest have vindicated themselves. It was freely admitted by the miners, and publicly stated by some of the leaders who resented the action of the extremists in this particular instance, that had the issue been between the masters and the men, or between the men and the Government on the rights or claims of labour, they would have supported the action of the extremists.

That the extremists have been able in the past to commit the Welsh coalfield to a policy which had not previously been officially a part of the objects of the Federation as a Trade Union, and which did not represent the well-considered

judgment of the great body of the miners, is a sufficient indication of the gravity of the situation, and of the developments that we may expect in the Welsh coalfield after peace is declared. The "level-headed" among the miners, as they are sometimes called, who, it is alleged in some quarters, form the backbone of the mining community, have themselves to blame for the fact that they have lost so much control over their industrial affairs; they have neglected the lodge meetings where the delegates to the different conferences are from time to time appointed, and they have allowed the Syndicalists and the extreme Socialists to manipulate the machinery. As to the "waverers" who constitute a considerable proportion of the mining community, they are at the mercy of the loud-mouthed demagogues who are mostly of the Socialist and Syndicalist type.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Socialists and Syndicalists have only the gift of speech to recommend them. Some of them are men of great native ability. The more able and better read among them have a very definite idea as to the best means whereby the present economic system can be overthrown; they have studied the art of advertising their economic ideas—exclusively from their own standpoint—and how to chain the Press, the platform, and every form of literary suggestion, to their chariot wheels. They know the value of foresight and of antecedent spade-work; they realize the power of collective thinking; they know how to make the best use of the English and the Vernacular Press in the Principality, to which they have, for commercial and other reasons, full and profitable access. Their motto is "nothing risked, nothing won," and, broadly speaking, they are meeting with corresponding response from the rank and file of the miners. Indeed, one is greatly impressed with the boldness and ruthlessness of the Socialist and Syndicalist leaders, as compared with the excessive prudence of the owners in the past, for which they are now paying a heavy penalty.

Even the Welsh Commissioners who were deputed to inquire into the causes of Industrial Unrest in South Wales have gone a long way in the direction of Socialism and Syndicalism. Not that the Commissioners have brought to

light any fresh facts; they have simply emphasized what we have often said in other connections. The Commissioners have adopted some of the ideas of the Socialists and Syndicalists in that they have recommended: (*a*) That the present system should be modified in such a way as to identify the worker more closely with the control of the industry in which he is engaged. (*b*) That every employee should be guaranteed "security of tenure," that is to say, that no workman should be liable to be dismissed except with the consent of his fellow-workmen as well as his employer. (*c*) To meet the demand for greater control of industry, the setting up of a scientific scheme of industrial councils, in which the employers and workmen should be associated in the control of industry. (*d*) That it be a statutory obligation on all workmen to belong to a recognized union of their particular industry.

The recommendations of the Commissioners may be dismissed as worthless, for the reason that they are impracticable. The advanced men—and it is their policy that will prevail—both official and unofficial, of the South Wales Miners' Federation, have already made it known, that if the control of the industry is in any measure and in any real sense to pass to Labour, it must be, not by any impossible endeavour to co-operate with employers on joint bodies, but by the transference of powers absolutely to bodies exclusively representative of Labour. The first essential of a *controlling* body is, they hold, that its members shall have a certain community of purpose, and a certain identity of point of view; but the miners and their employers have no community of purpose; on questions of wages, hours, discipline, status, and ultimate objective, they represent opposite aims and interests; therefore they cannot, from the very fact of their inherent antagonism, *control* jointly.

Not only are some of the proposals, or recommendations, of the Welsh Commissioners in the direction of Syndicalism, but some of their underlying assumptions are contrary to facts. For example, among the economic causes of the unrest in the South Wales coalfield the foremost, we are told, is the fact that the rise in the cost of living has outstripped the increase in wages. But the truth is, and it is established

by statistics, that in the South Wales coalfield the average wages have not merely kept pace with, but on the whole have moved faster than, the rise in price of commodities. As we have already suggested, and as the mineowners have been at pains to point out to the Government, since July, 1914, the South Wales miners have obtained advances on several occasions to the total amount of 73¾ per cent. on their standard earnings, and the general wage rate is now 133¾ per cent. above those rates as compared with 60 per cent. in July, 1914. Moreover, this rise in the general wage rate has been supplemented by other important concessions possessing a pecuniary value, which the workmen obtained as the result of the 1915 agreement.

The increased percentage of 73¾ per cent. has been paid in many cases on higher standard rates, and its yield, therefore, has been correspondingly greater. The effect of these concessions on individual earnings may be gathered from the fact that the day wage workmen have received advances in their weekly wages amounting in the least favourable cases for a full week's work by 17*s.* 6*d.* to 27*s.* 4*d.*; while in the case of piecework colliers, a wage census taken for the last full week prior to the 29th September last, showed average daily earnings of 14*s.* 7*d.* compared with 8*s.* 7½*d.* in June, 1914.

It will thus be seen that the increases over the war period have been general; that they have exceeded the average of the increases granted by the Government to other bodies of labour, and that they are irrespective of the increase in kind represented by the continued supply to the miners of their house-coal at an average pit-head price of less than 6*s.* 6*d.* per ton.

To the men receiving these wages the Government has granted an advance in the way of a special war-wage of 1*s.* 6*d.* per day, or 9*s.* per week. In some cases the advance will mean an increase of 10*s.* 6*d.* per week, and it has been ascertained that on the basis of actual attendances, this advance represents a minimum addition to the annual wages bill of South Wales alone of over £4,000,000 per annum. Moreover, the miners are to be paid this special war-wage whether they work or not.

The coalowners protest that an advance in wages involving so considerable an addition to the labour cost of production, and such new and dangerous principles in the remuneration of labour, has been made not merely without consultation with them, but also without any previous inquiry, either into the actual earnings of the men and the increase of such earnings since the war, or into its general economic effects.

When the war is over the industrial fight, which would seem to be inevitable, will be all the more severe on account of the many and unreasonable concessions made in order to maintain regular work, though these concessions have often failed. It is to be hoped that the experience which the Government has gained, and will gain, as the result of taking over the control of the collieries, will prove that the warnings and the advice which the coalowners and disinterested parties have so often given, were, after all, worthy of more respect than was paid to them.

The increase in the cost of living has been felt very acutely among the middle and professional classes in Wales. They receive no bonuses, and the sources of income in the case of many have been, in a large measure, cut off. They suffer in silence; they have no influence with the Government. Indeed, the middle classes seem as if they had lost all power; a certain feeling of hopelessness has taken possession of them, for they see that the miners have the Government under control, and that they will very soon have complete dominion over the community, which is part of their objective. At the very moment of writing, the miners are being told by their agents that a strike, to be successful, must be on a scale large enough to make not only the employers, but the community generally feel its effects. They charge others with profiteering, while they have profiteered themselves, and are still bent on profiteering, in wages and conditions.

As to their loyalty, the truth is that, notwithstanding the heavy recruiting that took place from the ranks of the miners during the earlier months of the war, the Welsh coalfield is now seething with disloyalty, and the Pacifists and malcontents, and officials of the Federation, are trading on the

patriotism of the miners who have enlisted, and are using it to cover their own secret machinations and disloyalty. This is true also of some of the leading members of the Federation. A demand is now being made for a conference to consider the five days per week policy. This is part of their obstructive tactics; it is inconsistent with their plea that no more miners can be spared for the purposes of the war without injury to the mining industry. The significance of the decision in favour of reducing the working week from six days to five is, that one man in six is not needed now in the mining industry, which works out at about thirty thousand men; and the Government is only asking for from twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand from South Wales.

A ballot vote of the miners in South Wales on the combing-out proposal of the Government was taken last year. Every conceivable influence was brought to bear upon the miners in favour of the proposal, yet about thirty thousand men voted against it. The result of the ballot was interpreted in some quarters as an overwhelming defeat for the Pacifists and malcontents. But on January 28, 1918, the Conference of the South Wales Miners' Federation decided to ask the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to order a general ballot on the subject. This was another direct attempt to frustrate the measures which are necessary for the defence of the country; and it is safe to predict that it will not be the last. It is also safe to predict that if another ballot were taken, the result would be different from that of last year.[1]

It is important in this connection to bear in mind, that the miners of South Wales are not a select and homogeneous race, or men welded together by pride of race, or pride of Empire; they are a mixed and heterogeneous multitude, united not by ties of blood, or religion, or natural sentiment, whether Welsh or British, but by hatred of the capitalist, or of the

[1] The returns of the ballot on the comb-out proposal announced on March 19, 1918, were:—

Against	... ...	60,870
For	... ...	59,256
Majority against		1,614

individualistic element in industry; by a common determination to overthrow the whole industrial system of the country, and a determination to have absolute dominion over the community. Towards this end they postulate force as their highest thought. It is toying with the question, they claim, to say that this industrial problem is "fundamentally a human and not an economic one," and to say that what is wanted "are new ethical considerations and a more human spirit, for ethical considerations do not exist." They boldly defy the moral public sentiment which expresses the social conscience of the community; it has long since come under their ban; they charge it with prudery, ignorance, and cowardice. Not only are they seeking to overthrow the present industrial system, but the great fundamental principles of rectitude, of right and wrong in human conduct, as if they were something conventional, things of mere custom, that are on the same ground as manners and ordinary social customs which may be changed. In effect, what they hold is, that their final objective releases them from obligations to the moral code; that they have a moral code of their own, which is better than anything they can find in the community, or in the doctrines of the Churches, or in what is called the "equity of business," or in State laws, against which they inveigh when they are inconvenient, or when they stand in the way of their objective.

All thoughtful men must rejoice at the ability of the classes that live by what is termed unskilled and skilled labour, to conceive methods and to use means for their own amelioration, and to combine in support of them. They cannot but also rejoice that this combination has affected the scope and spirit of our civil legislation; that it has produced a kindlier and more intelligent attitude to the disputes of labour, and that it has modified the economics of the school and of the study. But it is impossible to conceive anything more critical than the recognized and conscious sovereignty of a class of workers so placed and so mentally constituted as are the miners of South Wales, or one more capable of incalculable ill. The tendency to use power, or force, to gratify narrow or sectional interests, or selfish and immediate

ends, is a tendency common to human nature. But among the miners of South Wales it is more than a tendency, it is a fixed determination.

It is a peculiarity of the situation, that the men who are fomenting the war of industry are the very men who are fomenting the agitation for peace in this great war—peace by negotiation. Their motto is "peace abroad and war at home." They denounce secret diplomacy in State matters, but they practise it with great efficiency and effect in industrial matters when it suits them. They do not seem to realize that wars of industry may be as calamitous as the wars of the people, and that the strike is but civil war managed under the form suitable to these days. They cry for peace while at the same time they cultivate and engender the natural passions, prejudices, and hatreds, that make for war. This is what they term democracy, a name which they have covered with obloquy.

Wales is undoubtedly face to face with what may be truly called the supreme moment of its industrial and social history. The question is what, in opposition to these disintegrative agencies and forces, has the Church to offer as its fundamental principle in social and industrial disputes? It is easier to see ills than to discover a remedy. One thing, however, is certain: neither the workers nor the employers will tolerate clerical interference with the details of their affairs. While a large number of the miners are associated with religion in its several organized forms, a vast number of them do not believe that the Anglican Church, or that the Free Churches, are religious realities; they even deny their sincerity; and the principle that regulates their economic and political, regulates this ecclesiastical thinking. They have no use for any form of Church government which would not give them a paramount share in its conduct and legislation. They are intelligent enough to see that while society has changed and progressed, the Anglican Church and Nonconformity have not developed accordingly; that is, that the social development has outrun the religious, and that both the Anglican Church and Nonconformity have lost their adaptation to the environment within which they live.

The first duty of the Church is to realize that economical, industrial, and social questions, are questions of religion. This is where the Church, like Nonconformity, has failed. Too long has the Church conceived itself as an institute for worship, or preaching, or the observance of ritual; for maintaining an established Christianity, and for repeating the traditions of the past.

This is not enough. The Church must conceive itself through and through ethical, for it exists for ethical ends. It is not an economic institution; it was not destined to fulfil economic functions; it is not the citadel of capital, or of labour, or democracy, or of aristocracy; it should not be a suitor for the favour or recognition of either. Its duty is to look at this industrial question, not simply through the abstract idea of capital and labour, production and distribution, but as it affects men, as it affects the community, and as it affects ethical considerations.

The ethical is the most significant tendency in modern social and political thought. There is a growing feeling, not only among statesmen, but among educated men in all classes, that for moral more than for economic reasons, questions in dispute in the industrial world, or between classes, are ethical questions and questions that affect the community as a whole. Is the Church, then, to stand merely as a spectator of this social and industrial strife? Is it going to be an ethical force, an ethical force in itself, and an ethical force in its teaching? Or is it going to offer the working classes and the communities novelties in doctrine and in ritual as a panacea for all these social ills? Or is the Church going to ignore these industrial and social problems, and to leave them in the hands of the politicians?

It is not the function, or the duty, of the Church to pass criticism upon the principles of modern business, or upon what constitutes a living wage; but it is its function and its duty to maintain the ethical ideal, for its purpose in doctrine, in ritual, and in preaching, is ethical, and it must be judged by its ethical bearing. The history of the Christian Church is full of illustrations of the danger which has tempted it to believe either that ritual on the one hand, or dogma on the

other, is the real end of its existence. The danger is that the Church may elaborate its ritual till the soul of piety has died out of it, and emphasize the value of its Sacraments till grace becomes mechanical and artificial. But this age will not tolerate a Church which forgets or neglects its ethical ends, for its reason for being is not in doctrine, or in ceremonial, but in the ethical nature of God.

It is here where the miners come into direct conflict with the Church and with Christianity, and it is here where the Church must show courage, for the miners are making everything a vehicle for economical action. Their ambition is to do as little and to get as much as they can, even at the expense of the community; and their spirit of unreasonableness deepens in the very degree it succeeds. It is as teacher of ideal standards, of neglected or despised virtues rather than as arbiter, that the Church can intervene and make its power felt. It must teach respect for property, for the sacredness of contracts and covenants, for the interest of the community, for the spirit of brotherhood; and it must boldly declare that the industrial problem is essentially an ethical problem, and should be considered from an ethical standpoint. It should also declare, and without any reservation, that the interests of masters and men are not conflicting and irreconcilable as the miners hold that they are. If this assumption of the miners triumphs, it will inevitably lead to a chronic civil war in society, and it will perpetuate class antagonism to such a degree, that there can be no peace or safety, either for the community or for the State.

CHAPTER IX

ADJUSTMENT OF THE CHURCH TO THE FUTURE LIFE OF WALES

It is the opinion of many that the Church in Wales now stands out more distinctly than ever, and that if it grasps the gain that offsets the loss, and harmonizes its life in the light of its martyrdom and experience, it will possess a power that it never possessed at any stage of its modern history. The Church is suffering, as did the Roman Church just after its emancipation, from the worst of all forms of religious disability—social proscription; but unlike the Roman Church of that period, the Welsh Church has hope; it also has one or two very capable leaders who have been compelled, through the necessities of the Church's situation, to devote a much larger share of their time and thought to politics than perhaps they desired. Like the Roman, the Welsh Church has its illustrious names, and, in spite of many failings, an illustrious history.

As to the clergy of the present day, we might with truth and confidence say of them as a class, what De Tocqueville said of the French clergy as a class: "I question if there ever existed a clergy more enlightened, more rational, less circumscribed within the bounds of personal duty, and more alive to public obligation, and at the same time of more zealous faith." It is to the increasing vigour and devotion on the part of the clergy that we are to attribute the recovery of the expansive power of the Church in Wales. Not only have they enhanced its credit, but they have also changed its character, and brought it into the realm of reality. This is what we mean by adjustment; not merely an organic, or constitutional, but a psychological adaptation, which in course of time was bound to make itself felt in the shifting of the balance of power.

Now that the process of decline has been definitely and effectively arrested, it remains for the Church to consolidate these regenerative and expansive influences, by making the attainment of the Church's aims a faithful reflection of a corresponding change in the mentality and social life of the people of Wales. We believe that the encouragement to it was never more persuasive; that there have been few periods in the history of the Church that seem to lend themselves better than this to a revelation of its efficiency as a moralizing and civilizing agency. This is the challenge that is thrown down to the Church, and the nature of the response will manifest the spirit within.

In order to have a clear recognition of the means appropriate to this end, it is necessary to know the demands which the new environment makes upon the Church. As it finds itself faced with increasingly complex social, intellectual, and moral problems, an understanding of them becomes essential to effective adaptation, for it would be unwise to suppose that purely habitual and mechanical methods will suffice to meet conditions that were not and could not have been anticipated. This is as true in the realm of religion as it is in the realm of education, industry, and statesmanship.

It is also necessary that the Church should study the present in the light of its own past. The significance of our memory of the past is, that it enables us to bring experience to bear upon present perplexity, so that we may correct previous errors and profit by previous misfortunes. What has gone before cannot be wiped out, but the lessons gained may be turned to good account. Even in the lower animals individual experience exercises a guiding influence over the particular forms of instinctive expression and adaptation, though we cannot dogmatize as to the degree in which consciousness participates in all cases. It is, however, an instructive fact, that insects and birds often modify their methods of nest-building when the exigencies of local conditions call for such modification. To fit instincts and habits of life into variations in environment is a general tendency in the animal world.

The human capacity for adapting itself to new conditions is perhaps the salient phenomena in the history of the world. It is in virtue of the adjustment of the human frame to climatic, economic, and social conditions that important scientific discoveries have been made, colonies have been founded, and the way of civilization has been opened up in the darker regions of the earth. No better example of the power of accommodation could be afforded than by our soldiers at the front. Nursed in surroundings of sheltered security, and accustomed to the comforts of home-life, they pass on with a brave spirit, even a cheerful air, to an inferno of shot and shell; enduring every limitation placed upon their personal comfort; indifferent to cold and rain, wind and storm; performing the greatest acts of heroism and self-abnegation that are possible for human beings to achieve. People at home are not called upon to make the same sacrifice; but even they have gradually learned how to habituate themselves to war conditions; the power to bear comes along with the necessity of bearing.

Herein lies the secret of the stability and influence of the Monarchy—its power of adaptation. To the degree that it has accommodated itself to national and political exigencies, and that it has sympathized and co-operated with the people in their vicissitudes, it has gone up in their esteem and affection. The Monarchy in these times is not popularly considered to possess any inherent rights, any more than any other institution, whether political or religious. Utility, not heredity, is the test. Kingship has lost its claim to divinity. The only divinity that is now recognized is that of Democracy. Deeds have been done in its name that would have lost King George his throne. What Democracy implies is free man in a free society. It means personal and political freedom, and that the government that takes this form makes such liberty secure. But Democracy as we know it tends in a contrary direction. With an inconsistency as audacious as it is inexplicable, it upholds the right of private judgment for itself, and proceeds to ostracize those who hold different views. It is equally insistent in claiming liberty of action for itself, and in denying it to others. While it preaches the true doctrine,

it does not practise it. Its incapacity to resist that fatal tendency to which it is so strangely inclined—that is, of degenerating into plutocracy—is obvious.

Almost divine was the prescience of the framers of the American Constitution, when they made the Republic strictly limited by a written Constitution modelled on the mixed Constitution of England in the reign of George III., and rendered it stable by the carefully designed Confederacy of the United States. What exists in the United States is the sovereignty of many people limited by a scientific Constitution. Constitutionally, America is more of an Autocracy than a Democracy. What is developing in Great Britain is the sovereignty of many classes limited by nothing, which tends to tyranny and anarchy. In the lurid light of the vagaries of Democracy it is well that the Anglican Church is both an Autocracy and a Democracy. One of the sources of its power of endurance and resistance has been its union of a certain democratic spirit with its autocratic form.

But this is a diversion. What we wish to state is, that the supreme requisite of the Church at the present juncture is adaptation to variations in environment. It is a question of psychology more than of doctrine or ceremonial. Ecclesiastical, like political statesmen, should have a knowledge of the psychical tendencies of the people, just as an oculist must know general physiology and anatomy, a subject that occupies the mind of all efficient doctors. Among the qualifications of a good magistrate, one is, that he should have the sense of justice and the virtues consistent with the nature of the law he has to administer.

There can be no successful adjustment without what psychologists call "purposive thinking," followed by purposive doing; that is, thinking and doing towards some definite end. This is the function of the judging activities, which come to our aid when we are confronted with new issues, and with practical problems of common experience. Nature works with a purpose, though it is unconscious purpose. Man was made a reasoning being, not simply that he might possess reason, but that he should, with prudence, exercise it to some high and worthy purpose. Constitutional laws are

enacted with an end in view; either immediate or ulterior. We interpret them in the light of their objective, and we judge their merits or efficiency in the light of results. If they prove defective we seek to amend them. They are an index to the state of society and to public opinion.

Medical men study medicine and its various effects for a purpose. Music has a purpose, to express to men what is true and beautiful in one's hidden life. Lovers of music look upon their art as of itself a creator of emotion. But the best music is only an expression of feeling, the result of thought. It is the thought underlying the national Hymn that causes the emotion in singing it. It is the absence of thought, or of experience, that explains why the Wedding March leaves the hearts of the unmarried unaffected, yet it brings tears to the eyes of aged people. We are in this war for a purpose. Nominally, it is for victory, if it is possible; the end in view is better than the actions which, it is to be hoped, will secure it. There is some purpose in all human endeavours; it is so in art, speculative inquiry, and politics. As Burke puts it, "To give a direction, a form, a technical dress, and a specific sanction to the general sense of the community, is the true end of legislation."

It is, therefore, pertinent to inquire whether the Church is ancillary to some definite end? Or, is it an end in itself? Is it doing something for the sake of doing it, or is it doing it for the sake of something beyond? Are services held because it is customary, or because they were so ordered and defined in generations past, and irrespective of whether their form fits in with the environment of these times? How many Churchmen are there who know the factors that brought the Anglican Church into being, or the processes by which it has come to be what it is, or what has been its action in history? Do they simply look at their Church as they look at a rainbow, as something very beautiful and attractive, the final cause of which they cannot explain?

It is as impossible for the Church, as it is for the individual, to build up its own character, or to turn out citizens as good as the materials furnished by nature make possible, without an ideal. By ideal is meant the outline picture of possible usefulness and moral powers, in which the image

fashioned by the sanctified imagination blends with a Divine inspiration. An ideal is not a fixed thing; it has no finality, though it has an end in view. It varies with the requirements of an age, or of the people among whom Christians work. An ideal grows, reveals fresh qualities; brings new visions. It incites faith and more faith; hope and more hope; love and more love. An ideal gives unity to the heart, firmness to the will, and a heroic tone to the life.

The time has now come for the Church to take stock of its ideals, and to examine its old ideals in the light of their comparative success or frustration. There should be no hesitation in getting a fresh consignment, or in relegating unprofitable ones to the lumber-room, if the future interest of the Church requires it. A change of ideal, or the modification of old ideals, does not necessarily involve change of doctrine, or of objective. But it does involve a change of perspective, and the holding of its truths in different relations. The Church does not need any new intellectual forces, but rather needs to add a new force to old forces. It needs to analyze the characteristics of the times, and of the people among whom its lot has been cast.

If our diagnosis is correct, it is not mysticism but practicalism that the Church must offer. It is through its practicability that it has made such very substantial progress of recent years; through its development on the side of life, not through its development on the side of the philosophical, or the doctrinal. It has preached charity and self-sacrifice and endurance, and translated them into action. It has not changed its fundamental notes; but it has become more aggressive, by becoming more in touch with life and social conditions. Emotional extravagances and sensationalism it has avoided. It has consulted the fitness of good taste, for its services have been orderly and decorous. It has not neglected the institutional side, as is shown by its activities in industrial centres; neither has it lost the Evangelical note in the midst of great tides of population. Broadly speaking, it has by representing these three types made, during this period of its revival, a solid contribution to the highest welfare of the community, as well as enhanced its own credit as a

force working for righteousness ; with the result, that as from the crude products of petroleum are made the brilliant dyes rivalling the colours of the rainbow ; and as from dark caves are plucked the sunshine of the diamond, so from the perplexities of past times there has come forth a Church more inspirational, more circumambient in spirit, and with greater heart-power ; and hence has become a more important factor in national life and in the regeneration of society.

An ecclesiastical organization may possess all the external symbols of power and progress, while inwardly devoid of moral strength ; its pretensions, its authority, and the wide diffusion of its influence, may only be so many signs of its internal weakness and incapacity. This truth has been exemplified more than once in the history of the Roman Church. But the Church in Wales can justly claim that its material development during the last sixty years, is a symbol of an increasing inward moral strength and purity. The two have been, and still are, in perfect harmony. Synchronously with the extension of its sphere of power, the increase of its voluntary contributions, the erection of new edifices and the repair of old ones, there was a spiritual and intellectual impulse coming into play. It would, indeed, be true to say, that the advancement was the result of the revival of spiritual life within the Church.

What, then, of the future ? Historically speaking, it has to be conceded that the Church has not been particularly adaptable to changing conditions ; it has not been very disposed to make sacrifices for its freedom and its life. Its own hypochondria has been the cause of much of its weakness. It has given the impression, however erroneous that impression may be, that it exists for its own sake ; for the preservation of its own machinery. This accounts for a good deal of the indifference manifested towards the Church in the past. The motive of the Church's timidity may have been fear for itself, or for the truth for which it stands godfather, as if truth were some flickering light in a high strong wind. Theology is not truth, but the interpretation of truth, and the interpretation must be progressive. The growth of historical research necessitates new conclusions as to God's action in history. The critical study of the Bible, and the comparative study of

religion, impose new tasks on Biblical theology and orthodox opinions relating to the Providence of God and the spiritual nature of man.

It is by its eagerness to discover truth, and deeper regions of truth, that it convinces; not by the assumption or assertion that finality in truth has been reached. When the inquisitorial element has been taken or forced out of truth, it ceases to be itself. It is the vitality of this element that causes philosophy, which is still hard at work in its endeavours to unify all our knowledge, to pulsate with energy and movement. Science is ever active, it is the sermon on the words of Christ: "My Father worketh, hitherto, and I work." There is no dead matter—all is alive with power; so intimately allied are all things in nature, that there is ceaseless activity in the work of production and adaptation; so that every science, however specialized it may become, is closely connected with all other branches. One science comes from another, and is related to it.

Life cannot come into the Church through inaction; or through indifference to prevailing social and intellectual conditions; or by seeking to temper environment to its own ecclesiology. This is not to say that it can or should be indifferent to its own distinctive and sovereign principles, for the sake of popularity. But unity, life and progression in unity, can never exist in any institution, whose main or only concern is with its own machinery, and traditional methods of worship and preaching, and of approaching men.

The Church claims, with a historic and with a spiritual claim of continuity and truth, to have been organized and taught by the Apostles. But the Apostles manifestly understood their own age in the East, and throughout Europe, and they understood what was coming. If the Church is Apostolic, it must be Apostolic not merely by hereditary connection, but by spiritual conformity. If it is the Church of the Incarnation, it must be the Church of progressive humanity, capable of acting on all temperaments and conditions. If it is the Church of the Holy Spirit, it must be an onward-leading, self-revealing, and self-adaptive Church. And it must be this to every age as it comes along. This,

as we understand, is the genius of the Apostolic Church, and the source of its perennial power and inspiration.

Every age is, in some respects, an age of transition; but no age has been so characteristically and cardinally and universally an epoch of transition as this. It has affected, not only the foundations of faith, but all the processes of society—its industry, its civic economy, its social fabric, its domestic relationships, and its idea as to what constitutes religion and worship. The whole world seems to be swinging to and fro like the great ocean which follows the planets, that obey the direction of the power that is exerted upon them by other forces; and, like the ocean, it does not know what ails it. It is a smitten world, so bowed down with anguish and perplexity, that it is hard at times to believe that it is the Father's world, for hate not love appears to be the ruling force of the universe.

Some day, thousands of our own kith and kin, who have gone through the thunder of battle, through privations, through fears and torments, will come back. Physically some will come strengthened and perfected through the discipline which they have undergone; others, beaten down, maimed and disfigured for life. Mentally, some will come with their faith in God augmented, and their spirit mellowed and humbled; others, hardened and embittered. The conviction which the Church will look for in them may be wanting; the sentiments which it expresses may find no echo in their bosom, and the old idea that worship is only possible under traditional and perhaps outgrown conditions may be unpalatable to them. No two will have identical difficulties; no two will, therefore, look for identical solutions. Each will look upon life and upon truth from his own peculiar angle of observation and trouble, rather than in the light of the Church's formularies. The Church will find its depth, its motion, and its vitality, by adapting its mode of thinking and preaching to concrete life.

At the convention of the four dioceses, which was held at Cardiff in October, 1917, it was contended that the Church should be National and Catholic. If it is to be National, it must, as far as possible, make itself co-extensive with the

nation in the spiritual aspects of the national life, and express the religious sentiment and devotion of the people as a whole. If it is to be Catholic, it must be elastic, sympathetic, and comprehensive; for these are almost necessarily the distinctive notes of a Catholic, or of a National Church. Something was also said about the title that should be borne by the Church in future; but as the Bishop of St. David's, with his usual keen instinct, aptly observed, "the nationality of the Church will be decided by life and not by title."

Churchmen in Wales have been told that the "one condition of success for the Church in Wales is in a determined nationalism." If the Church is to do its work, "it must have a national savour;" "it must appeal to the imagination of every Welshman;" and in order to do that it must have a Metropolitan, an Archbishop of St. David's—the dream of Giraldus." If the Church in Wales is to adapt itself on the lines of Welsh nationalism, what does it signify? Ideally, nationalism is above sect, creed and party politics; but in Wales it is, we regret to say, still a convertible term for Dissent and Radicalism. The influence of clanship is a predominant feature; it takes no cognizance of the dissimilar elements of which the present population of Wales is compounded, and that can never be fused into a sympathetic whole, on the principles enunciated by Welsh Nationalism, as it is being officially expounded and practised.

To be a nationalist in a political and a sectarian sense has, very largely, become a necessity, for it has been made an avenue to office, to promotion, and even to literary recognition. Again, what would be national in Cardiganshire, where the Welsh predominate and where Welsh ideals penetrate the whole community, would not be national in Glamorganshire, which is very cosmopolitan; what would be national in Merionethshire would not be national in Monmouthshire, Breconshire, Radnorshire, Pembrokeshire, or even Carmarthenshire, to the same degree.

On its political side, Welsh nationalism stands for Disestablishment and Disendowment, Home Rule, and separation from England in so far as the financial strength of Wales

will be able to bear it. On its educational side, nationalism means making a knowledge of Welsh obligatory on all teachers serving in Wales; making Welsh compulsory in the Welsh matriculation examination; insisting that Welshmen only should be appointed to professorial chairs in Welsh University Colleges. This is the measure of its gratitude to the highly educated men of foreign birth who have rendered lasting service to the cause of University education in Wales, and whose abilities and experience were placed at the disposal of Wales at a time when they were sadly needed. It is also proposed to teach Welsh in the University Colleges, not as an academic but as a spoken language, and to make a knowledge of Welsh in course of time obligatory for all degrees.

These proposals, with some slight modifications, have been formally placed by the central Welsh Board before the Royal Commission on Welsh University and Secondary Education in Wales, which has just issued its Report. It is worthy of note in this connection that the agitation for a Welsh Educational Council, which means the severing of the present connection with the Board of Education, was initiated by the Central Welsh Board, whose educational policy for the future of Wales we have just indicated. The plea is, that Wales "is far and away in advance of England in educational matters," also "that Whitehall has been hampering Welsh aspirations and preventing Wales from going ahead on her own." It would be safe to say that the crude demands which have been placed by the Central Welsh Board before the Royal Commission, do not represent the considered judgment of Wales as a whole. If incorporated in the new system, they would make University education in Wales exclusive and provincial. In brief, there would be no University in a true sense.

If the Church is to adjust itself on the lines of this "determined nationalism," it means that it must be a national religious organ for the expression and propagation of these ideals; which also means that eventually the Church, by whatever name it may be called, will go down before it. This separatist movement could scarcely be called a "Catholic movement," much less have the interest of Catholicism in

view, for they are opposing principles. A Church which is to register purely racial and political ideals, especially when they are detrimental to the welfare of a large, growing, and an intellectual section of the community, would not be a Church of Christ. National sympathies the Church must have, but to possess national sympathies does not of necessity involve acquiescence in all the people's racial, or emotional outbursts; for they may be, often are, subversive of all society. That a certain thing is desired, or desired by a great number, is not in itself a guarantee of its justice or utility. Such a view would make life a mere association of self-interest. Public aspirations, if serious and well matured, are always worthy of respect; but there are periods of crisis in the history and development of races and of nations, when sympathy must take the form of reproof and correction. Communities have often been more indebted to those who have resisted than to those who have encouraged them.

True, every nation or race, like every age, has its own mental habits; its own particular way of handling and approaching questions that affect morals and faith and politics; its own principles of action, and its own way of looking at the phenomena of life. This is as true of Wales as of England, Scotland, or Ireland. It should not, however, be forgotten that the progress of education, the spread of general culture, the inroads of a foreign language, the development of commerce, public training, the science of politics, and changes in ethical standards, affect the psychology of a people. They have affected the psychology of the whole population of Wales. It is in our study of the modifications of popular psychology, in consequence of these influences, that we come to the heart of the question of the adjustment of the Church to the future life of Wales; and the factors that should determine the nature of the adjustment.

What, therefore, is the index of the problem-solving adaptive efforts? We find it in the several distinguishable features of the collective consciousness, by means of which mental operations are carried on. To examine them all, and in their entirety, would be impossible within the limits of

this chapter. We can only deal with a few selected features, and with their most conspicuous characteristics. For the genesis of the more modern adjusting movements in the individual and the race, and for an inkling of what we are looking for, we have to consider the process of the transition from one language to another. It is here, we think, that we come to the heart of the problem of the day; for it shows us how racial ideas are becoming related to a mixed community in course of reconstruction. Racial contact, whether in a purely linguistic, or a purely intellectual form, or both, is the all-important factor in a nation's development; it is more important than heredity, or even education.

We cannot understand the character of the changes that have taken place in Welsh sociology, without some knowledge of the effect of this transition from one language to another on the native mentality. Historically speaking, the native mind has evinced a wonderful pertinacity, and a wonderful attachment to the claims of tradition and antiquity. It is to this engrossment that we attribute the languishing of purely Welsh native literature, which has some correspondence with the languishing of Italian native literature for nearly a century after the death of Giovanni Boccaccio, and for a similar reason. As we observe in another portion of this work, it is to the native literature—prose and poetic—and the classics of the Wales of the past rather than of the present, that we are to look for the imprints of purely Welsh racial characteristics, and the most visible expressions of the Welsh genius, though there is very little contemporary interest in it.

The native literature of to-day is so greatly disfigured in style, dignity, expression, and diction, that its impurity is abundantly manifested. Broadly speaking, Welsh classical literature has ceased to exist. The literary supremacy of the Welsh is a thing of the past. In the pulpit and in the Welsh newspaper press, it has given way to shoddy Welsh. Credit is due to the older ministers for having preserved something of the style, dignity, simplicity, and picturesqueness of the Welsh language; their superior excellence in this respect, as well as in sheer brain power, in eloquence, and in all the requisites that constitute a first-class preacher, is incontestable.

The university men are the worst offenders. It is one thing to maintain Professors at the University College in order to try to create some sort of an academic interest in the language among a few students, it is another thing to popularize it, to carry it into, or to keep it in, the homes of the people. Dante set up a common standard of literary excellence in Italy—he gave Italy a language. Petrarch made it interesting to scholars; Boccaccio placed it in the homes and hearts of the people, thus making it an instrument of national culture and civilization; so that in the days of Lorenzo de' Medici, a century later, Italian native literature was of almost perfect mechanism.

But such instruction as a few Welsh students receive in the native language at the feet of Welsh Professors is not continued, partly for the reason that the interest is only temporary; partly because they themselves are the victims, as well as the exemplars, of the provincial *patois* in which the general body of the Welsh express themselves. English modes of expressing Welsh ideas are becoming very common, for the reason that the preachers cannot find an equivalent Welsh word for the English, or for some popular expression; so that we witness an increasing introduction of English words and phrases. The practice is adopted because it lends additional force to the statement or illustration made. If the process of deterioration continues, it may be that in years to come, it will be supposed that some of the sermons (if preserved) were really preached in English with an occasional introduction of Welsh phrases; in the same manner as it was supposed that the sermons of the Franciscans Olivier Maillard and Michel Menot, as well as those of popular French preachers and theologians at the close of the Middle Ages, were originally preached in Latin with the occasional introduction of French words. There was then a similar difficulty in finding equivalent Latin words for some popular French expressions, so that in the translation they were left in French.

Even the syntax of the Welsh language is undergoing a change; the dialects, which are the force behind literary Welsh, do not appear to be strong enough in the matter of

idiom, and are no longer able to act as a check upon the deteriorating tendencies of translation.

What, then, are some of the effects of this transition upon the Welsh mind? It does not appear to have added to its inherent strength, power, intensity, creative power, or reflective capacity. From a purely intellectual standpoint the transition connotes at present a decline rather than an advance, and a reversion to a less robust and a less imaginative type. This temporary deterioration is, we think, due mainly to the recasting of the native mind, through being placed in a different mould, and through being brought under the influence of a foreign culture; a type of culture not merely different from, but in a sense antagonistic to its own, which cuts right clean across its tendencies and characteristics. Under the influence of this transition the native mind is becoming less and less intuitive, and more and more inductive; less philosophical and more practical in its bent; more critical of received economical and theological opinions; less traditional and more speculative. It is throwing off its solitariness, its inwardness, and its exclusiveness. It is more sensitive to association, and association affects the reason, the moral sense, and the affections, which lead to a larger and a more varied community of life, which means a change, eventually, in the physiological qualities of the people, as well as in their psychical peculiarities, and objects of interest. It is becoming more many-sided in its outlook and culture, though there are unfailing signs of a decline in originality.

We attach very great importance to this linguistic transition. The philosophic historian whose duty it is to trace the progress of thought and civilization, cannot but regard it as something more than a crisis in the history of a language; it is a crisis in the ethnological history of the people. The Welsh themselves may have been unconscious of any such metamorphosis; but though gradual and imperceptible to the superficial observer, it is very real. If not an epoch in itself, it is an epoch-making event. It not only gives Wales one language for another, or a new language for a number of dialects: it is the enfranchisement of the Welsh intellect, with the result that we find a totally new kind of

mental operation, due to the unfolding of a new phase of consciousness.

It is natural to suppose that this crossing of the boundary line should in the first instance have given a shock to the native mind, and caused it to remain temporarily in an unsettled state. Psychologists are familiar with what is termed *motor reaction* among infants, when they are given some distasteful medicine. They will refuse utterly for hours afterwards to take anything into their mouths, and for indefinite periods will reject the medicine itself. So close is the connection between language and conceptual thinking, that the invasion of a new language is bound to produce resentment and unsettlement. Such, however, is the precocity of the Welsh people, that they have a passionate and somewhat disorderly enthusiasm for what they take up. So rapidly has their inferiority in this respect passed away, that the idiomatic English of the Welshman who has learned English, is as good as the idiomatic English of the average Englishman, and the classical English of the educated Welshman is as good as that of the educated Englishman, and very often more elegant and intelligible.

This transition is not only a sign, but one of the causes of the passing away of the old order of things: of the turning aside of the intellect and activities of the Welsh people from the dead bones of the past to the living organisms of education, politics, commerce, and pursuit of the sciences. It augurs well for the future of Wales, for it has persuaded its people that there is a world of new thought to be mastered, and a wealth of new ideas to be acquired. It means infinitely more than the supplying of a new vehicle for conveying conceptual ideas. It means an entire recasting of conceptual relations, and a widely different course of intellectual labour.

If we were asked to specify the distinguishing features which differentiate the Wales of the monoglot Welshman from that of the present, we would say, that whereas the former represents an indigent community; inferior and one-sided in culture; unimportant in the world; without any aspirations, either political or intellectual, appropriate to

native capacity; suspicious of, even antagonistic to everything foreign; looking at its own circumscribed life as a complete life; the Wales of to-day represents a highly prosperous community, teeming with vitality and budding promise; bursting into the full flower of nationhood; faring better, politically, than even in the days of its independence; struggling to keep pace with the age in education and classical learning. So ardent and general seems the desire to taste of the fruits of the latest and ripest form of culture, that it reminds one of the saying of Gargantua in his letter to Pantagruel, "The very women and children have aspired to this glory and celestial manna of good learning."

True, other signs are not wanting. We know of no civilized progressive community where so little stimulus is given to independent thinking; where a difference of opinion is so largely taken as a personal offence; where personalities are so shamelessly introduced into the sacred domain of literature; where the sentiments of liberty and justice are so vehemently proclaimed and so habitually violated; where ready-made prejudices are so often taken for judgments, and where judgments are so uninformed; where party politics and patriotism are so interwoven that they are to all intents and purposes convertible terms; where nationalism, in its racial and political aspect, is more of a disintegrating than of an integrating force.

We speak with knowledge and without reservation, when we say that these separatist signs of an inferior civilization are the direct product of the narrowing and repressive influence of the purely exclusive Welsh nationalist spirit, which stands in violent opposition to the process of amalgamation that is now in progress. It concentrates its attention on the parts rather than on the whole. Health in a community, like health in the human body, depends on a consensus of the various structures and organs. The physician does not merely think of the parts affected, and attempt to treat such of them as he considers to be involved in the case before him. He studies the body as a whole.

The desire to see each nation already constituted, working out its own domestic destinies to the best possible advantage

to itself; that is, on the basis of the sovereignty and unity of all its component parts, is highly commendable. Such a policy would give an outlet to the energies of every nationality as developed by historic and economic causes up to its present stage of growth. But the breaches which separate one class from another should be narrowed, not widened.

It is in the power of the Church to make itself enormously useful in this direction; there is no other religious system, if marked out with sympathy and knowledge, that is so capable of welding conflicting social interests, and of solving the problem of uniting individualism with authority in religion—one of the problems which confronts the Church in Wales at this juncture. Nonconformity is unfitted for the task of mediating between the two extreme forms of religious conviction or fanaticism; that is, to bridge the gulf that separates the individualism of Protestanism from Roman Catholic authority, for Nonconformity, with its abnormal emphasis on the rights of the individual, develops itself in the direction of complexity and separation. The confusion of opposition between the two forms of fanaticism has never been really felt within the Nonconformist community. Its temperament, institutional system, the date and circumstances of its origin, and its ideal, incapacitate it from acting as a medium between authority on the one hand, and the claims of the individual on the other.

Roman Catholicism, like Nonconformity, is unfitted for the task, though not for the same reason. The Roman Church is all for authority and against individualism. Biblical criticism, or criticism of authority, or of discipline, it cannot and will not tolerate. It stands for unity through the suppression of discussion, and for the absolutism of doctrinal and hierarchical authority. It is unalterably opposed to the forces of modern thought and life. The late Father Tyrrell was not only suspended, but forbidden the Sacraments in his lifetime, which meant excommunication. He was refused absolution, and a Catholic burial, in obedience to orders from Rome. For what crime? For disbelieving in Jesuitism; for resisting the principle of absolute subjection to Roman Catholic authority; for claiming liberty to think for himself.

No modern Government dare penalize a man before he is heard in his own defence; but Father Tyrrell was condemned without a hearing; he was ostracized in death because he had not retracted; though retraction could hardly be expected in the case of a speechless dying man. The Roman Church is not Catholic in the real sense. It has undergone no vital change, or development in doctrine, method of worship or government. A pope can discipline and excommunicate, but he need not give his reasons; that a pope can do no wrong is still a tenet to which a Roman Catholic must subscribe, as he must subscribe to the theory that the Roman Church is the only true Church, and that all other forms of religion are heretical. A pope is the sole arbiter of faith and morals to millions of believers. There is a dual aspect to the papal authority, which merges by imperceptible degrees from the spiritual to the temporal sphere: it claims the regency of the whole field of human affairs, and to regulate every detail of conduct. There could, therefore, be no limit to this authority: it damns whom it excommunicates, in this world and in the next. In the countries where the Roman Catholic Church is still predominant, there is not in practice any discrimination made between the obligation to God and the obligation to Cæsar. The ascendancy of the priests in the Roman Catholic districts of Ireland is absolute. Social penalties for independent convictions touching faith, morals, and the conception of authority which has taken the form of Roman infallibility, are a recognized practice, from which there is to be no deviation. The Encyclical letter of September 8, 1907, with its exaction of an anti-Modernist oath and the disciplinary measures attached to it, puts it beyond question that there can be no theological liberty within the Roman Communion. Individualism is crushed under the iron heel of papal authority.

The Roman Catholic Church could not consistently attempt to solve the problem; if it did it would fail, for it claims to have attained finality in matters of faith, government, administration, authority, and the mode of executing authority. Its authority is based on that form of infallibility which is

inimical to religion, because it makes it less real. It is guidance, not infallibility, that men need. The verdict of history is that the claim to infallibility in the realm of religion has failed, and the Roman Church must bear the responsibility for that failure. While the genius of Nonconformity is a disintegrating force, that of Roman Catholicism is a repressive force. Neither is Catholic, either ideally or actually.

The only religious body that can honestly take up the position of an intermediary between the two extreme forms of fanaticism, that can with any hope of success devote its energies to the solution of the problem involved in the conflict between individualism and authority in religion, is the Anglican Church. It is more Catholic than the Roman Catholic Church, and more amenable to what is best and most worthy of acceptance in the liberalizing and scientific tendencies of the age. It alone among the religious communities seems to us to possess the insight, solidarity, and the unifying genius that are necessary for such an undertaking. It has a wider vision, and a keener sense of the confusion which arises from the conflict between the individualism of Protestantism and Roman Catholic authority. True, it has no organ of utterance in the same sense as the Roman Church; it has no recognized pope. It permits a very considerable measure of liberty of opinion, discussion, and expression; and in so far as Wales is concerned its restrained emotionalism supplies a most useful element.

This is not to suggest that the Welsh Church should adjust itself to Welsh feelings and emotions, by making them a test or a basis of Christian character. The best form of adjustment may be, often is, to find a counterpoise; to lead rather than to follow public inclinations. True, humanity has always been expressive of its feelings, and the Welsh have been particularly so. But there is here a double liability to error; one is to disregard the feelings, the other to over-regard them, by giving them the rein, and this has been a peculiarity of Nonconformity. Its mentality is too subjective and introspective, hence its low religious spirit and its moodiness. The philosophy of its religion is so intensely individualistic, that its supreme thought is centred in self rather than in the com-

munity. Its hymn-tunes are not only struck, as a rule, in the minor key, but the predominant note is the personal. The communal idea occupies a very subordinate place in its system of thought and worship. It approximates more nearly to the old Welsh tribal ideas, as to the mutual relationship of the people and the religious bodies.

Our reading of the Church's history goes to show that it has been subjectively moderate; that its moderation has been something between the two evils of too much feeling on the one hand, and too little on the other. It is easy to miss the mark by giving it too much latitude; easier than to hit the mark by restraining and keeping it within proper bounds. We believe that the Anglican system of worship tends to keep the mean between the two extremes.

The Church in Wales has shown during recent years a wonderful resilience under adversity; what it has now to show is, whether it can adapt its life and ministrations to this new nation that is coming down into the arena of the Principality. A nation with a Welsh strain a permanent element in the racial admixture; but a nation whose human excellence will be defined, less with reference to native traditions and idiosyncrasies, and more with reference to intellectual and social qualities of a broader and more sympathetic nature. In spite of the narrowing tendencies of Welsh nationalism, as it is manifesting itself in political and educational circles, coalescing influences are silently working in the direction of amalgamation, and the old material is becoming more easily modifiable during the progress of growth, and early training is an important factor.

As to the general characteristics of this new nation, we may safely say that it will be a more self-assertive nation, and more individualistic; more responsive to the feelings that are growing up in the common heart; more sensitive to the sense of its own right to the free and full exercise of the faculties with which it has been endowed. A nation that will demand that the ground of faith be examined; that truth be tested, so that each soul should be able to say "credo" for reasons convincing to itself, rather than it should be received on the *ipse dixit* of those who teach or proclaim it; that will

insist upon greater respect for the conditions for receiving evidence, for the conditions of evidence itself, and for the gradations of evidence relating to such questions as future punishment, the existence of a triune God, and the infallibility of Scripture. There are indications that theology as such already hangs loosely on the Welsh mind; that it is softening the strict discipline of the old Puritan ideal; that it is breaking away from the austere virtues; from the hard and fast lines that have divided the sacred from the secular; from former conceptions of the sanctity of the Sabbath, and the manner of observing it; that it is laying less stress upon formulas, and more upon personal experience, in the sphere of religion; and less stress upon the old distinctions that have separated men in social life.

The supreme question for the Church in Wales is the combination of its religion with the modern progress of Wales; the line which that progress has taken we have already indicated. Will the Church adapt its genius to this new Wales, to the secular changes that have taken place, and that will continue in proportion as the insight of the people into civic arrangements developes, and the sense of their own personal and collective rights as citizens increases? If, in its emphasis on the word "Catholic," it forgets its universality, it will miss the meaning of its true mission to the people of Wales; and by the people of Wales we do not simply mean the Welsh, but all races and classes. "The universality of the Church of Christ," says Bishop Owen of St. David's, "is emphasized in the Prayer-book, but we shall only realize the significance of this truth in proportion as we realize the paramount obligation of the Church, as a Church, to obey with a whole heart the risen Lord's missionary commission." "There is no real antithesis," he says, "between true Catholicity and true nationality;" also, "the ideal of national life is a living organism and not an aggregate of separate individual atoms."

No one who has studied the new Wales in the light of the old, the new organon and new philosophy of life that have been evolved out of the past, will deny that the Bishop has struck a truly prophetic note. A new type of people demands

a new type of leaders, a new method of approach ; and a more fraternal spirit on the part of those who do lead. Laconian affectation, frigidity, formalism, superciliousness, and intolerance of men who hold different views, present-day society will not tolerate. The Christ who came *to* humanity, came *into* humanity. "He became man," and by becoming man, He brought a message of hope to every man, however low his estate, and to whatever nationality he belongs. If the Church in Wales, on the threshold of its new career, takes a course at variance with, or in opposition to, God's law of community, the only sound law upon which a nation can be built up in equity, amity, and piety ; if it addresses itself to any single class or interest in the community ; if it rests upon the antipathies of race and racial distinctions, prejudices against it are sure to follow ; it will injure the balance of its own moral power, and its religious life will surely be grievously defective. But if it will make itself equally accessible to all classes, and to the latest as well as to the earliest ; if it will adjust its manifold ministrations on the principle that Wales is being closely bound into an economic whole, it will enrich its own moral and intellectual resources, and prove a great remedial and unifying force.

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THE END

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